

























THE  
AMERICAN  
CATHOLIC QUARTERLY  
REVIEW.

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Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.

S. AUG. EPIST. CCXXXVIII. AD PASCENT.

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# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

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ALFRED LORD TENNYSON :

THE MECHANICS OF TENNYSON'S POETRY.

ALFRED LORD TENNYSON. A Memoir by His Son. Two Volumes.  
New York : The Macmillan Company. 1897.

THIS biography has received the highest praise from all classes of critical journals. We have found the volumes as interesting as a novel—more interesting, indeed, than most novels. For the hero in this case was possessed of a personality that attracted and held attention by its own merits, and needed not the assistance of romance to lift it above “the petty smokes and stirs of men.” The portrait drawn by the word-painter is striking and vivid—the realism of the story, however, not running into even the borderland of that vulgar fulness which characterized Froude’s “Carlyle,” and on which the modern romancer has, alas! built only too securely his hopes of financial, and perhaps of literary, success.

The biographer has had a vast mass of detail from which to choose—some 40,000 letters, published and unpublished manuscripts, diaries, literary fragments of Tennyson’s friends, notes on his own life and work which the poet left for publication after his death, his unpublished poems, and the “Journal” of the family’s home life. This embarrassment of wealth will explain two things noticeable in the volumes : first, an occasional fragmentariness in the narrative ; and, second, an apparent inconsistency in the portraiture, arising, however, less from lack of synthetic skill in the writer of the Life than from the many-sidedness of the poet himself, who “may be like the magnetic needle, which, though it can be moved from without, yet in itself remains true to the magnetic pole.” But while this wealth of material will explain these seeming defects, it will also call attention to the wise reticence of the



biographer, who has not permitted anything to appear in the two large volumes that could cause even a passing cloud of misapprehension to rest on any one of the numerous figures that people his pages—friends of the poet, correspondents, publishers, casual acquaintances, critics both kindly and harsh, the public whom the poet in his earlier years considered wholly unsympathetic, and from whose enthusiastic sympathy he turned with unconquerable shyness and timidity in his after life. There is absolutely no trace of innuendo, *suppressio veri*, suspicion of scandal, ungenerous criticism, pandering to the appetite of “an eavesdropping and newspaper-ridden age.” There is simply the portrait of a man of sensitive, simple nature; of unflagging energy in perfecting the details of his art; a man whose life was nearly that of the century itself, and some parts of whose work may prove the undying heirloom of all the coming centuries; and, finally, a man whose instincts—much misapprehended by many, if we may trust the testimonies of his friends as quoted in the “Memoir,” and if we may argue from their life-long friendship—were kindly, however much his concrete judgments may have been occasionally at fault. In these he certainly erred at times; he was very far from being a statesman, or perhaps even a broad-minded man. His best apology is that of ignorance (*e.g.*, in the scandal of the “Jamaica Riot,” vol. ii., p. 40), and his attitude found palliation in that of men who knew better only to argue more obstinately for a policy as un-Christian as it was inhuman. Those who have formed an ideal portrait of the poet from that better life expressed in his works need fear no sad disillusioning—as, unfortunately, some recent biographies of great men might with too much reason lead them to fear.

Delightful as this Life is from the standpoint of frank simplicity, cleanness, sympathy, it is no less charming (in its appropriate reticence and in its absence of the “personal note”) as a biography of a man who permitted his son to write it only that no intrusive outsider might find opportunity for an unauthentic travesty. The poet would have preferred leaving to the world, as the sole record of his life, his poems—that is, his life-work; believing that

None can truly write his single day,  
And none can write it for him upon earth.

He himself wrote what he considered a sufficient literary biography, in his poem *Merlin and the Gleam*. His son attempts to solve the riddle of this poem—for riddle it certainly seems—according to the authentic interpretation of the poet. The solution only shows more clearly how little the world could spare the

two volumes of the "Memoir." If the authentic reading of the riddle had not been given, we should scarce feel inclined to share Mr. Van Dyke's "wonder that few of the critics seem to have recognized it for what it really is—the poet's own description of his life-work and his clear confession of faith as an idealist." ("The Poetry of Tennyson," by Henry Van Dyke. Scribner's, 1897.) We are rather inclined to think with Mr. Luce, who, by the way, has given an admirable summary of the riddle in his "Handbook to Tennyson's Works" (George Bell & Sons, 1895), that "it is not easy to piece out the allegory of *Merlin and the Gleam*. The poet traverses life from the 'morning hills' down by cataract and wilderness over the level to the ocean shores. Those he leaves behind are young mariners charged to launch their vessel upon the ocean which is about to withdraw his being to its own." Nevertheless the poem does, when interpreted aright, give the salient characteristics of the poet and of his work in a few broad strokes of the pen, and, as an introduction to the following pages of the biography, is like a crystallized text for a long elaboration. Hallam Tennyson's reading of the riddle is more minute than that of Mr. Luce; but, as a slight preface to our own fragmentary criticism in this article, we beg the reader to take down his volume of "Demeter and Other Poems," and read once more the quaint rhythms of *Merlin and the Gleam*, with the comment of Mr. Luce: "In this, though the metre is almost archaic, we have a beautiful and touching description of the life of the great artist. . . . First the gleam flickered above the springs of fancy; then for ten years, repelled by the croak of critics, it retreated; but the poet followed still, and it glanced on lyric and monologue and idyl, it illumined the legend of Arthur the King, threw a divine light on the lament for Arthur Hallam, mingled a ray of immortality with the melodies that sang through the world in later years; and now, having led the poet to the land's last limit, it stood hovering 'on the border of boundless Ocean, and all but in Heaven.'"

We do not intend to discuss in this paper the poet's philosophical or theological or political views—matters on which much stress is laid in the "Memoir." To us he is, first and last, a POET; and even here his melody attracts us so much more than his matter that we shall discuss merely the mechanics of his poetry.

# I. POETA NASCITUR.

The poetic instinct was clearly an heirloom to the young Alfred. His father was a poet; his brothers seven and his sisters



four were, most of them, poets. As children they gave early evidence of their heirloom of poetic creation. "Their imaginative natures gave them many sources of amusement. One of these lasted a long time: the writing of tales in letter form, to be put under the vegetable dishes at dinner, and read aloud when it was over." Young Alfred was the prince of the juvenile story-tellers. The cynosure of kindling eyes, he would discourse at any desired length on themes of savage and romantic interest made out of the whole cloth, or having Wellington and Napoleon as the basis of fact for a great fabric of fancy. The imaginative faculty, thus early developed, found soon its easier expression in verse. He lisped in numbers; for, as it seems, the numbers came. In 1890 the old poet jotted down some of his recollections of this early seed-time. Before he was able to read he was in the habit, on a stormy day, of spreading his arms to the wind and crying out, "I hear a voice that's speaking in the wind"; and the words "far, far away" had always a strange charm for him. "According to the best of my recollection, when I was about eight years old I covered two sides of a slate with Thomsonian blank verse in praise of flowers for my brother Charles, who was a year older than I was, Thomson then being the only poet I knew. . . . About ten or eleven, Pope's Homer's 'Iliad' became a favorite of mine, and I wrote hundreds and hundreds of lines in the regular Popeian metre, nay, even could improvise them." At the age of twelve he appears as a critic of Milton, writing to his Aunt Mari- anne quite an elaborate review of the *Samson Agonistes*. The passage

Restless thoughts that like a deadly swarm  
Of hornets armed, no sooner found alone,  
But rush upon me thronging, and present  
Times past, what once I was, and what am now,

he quotes with the remark that it puts him "in mind of that in Dante which Lord Byron has prefixed to his Corsair, 'Nessun maggior dolore, Chè ricordarsi del tempo felice, Nella miseria.' " He admires particularly the line

O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon,

He comments on the word "diffused" in the line

See how he lies at random, carelessly *diffused*,

as follows: "If you look into Bishop Newton's notes you will find that he informs you that 'This beautiful application of the word "diffused" is borrowed from the Latin.' It has the same

meaning as 'temere' in one of the 'Odes of Horace,' Book the second,

Sic temere, et rosa  
Canos odorati capillos,

of which this is a free translation: 'Why lie we not at random, under the shade of the plantain (sub platano), having our hoary head perfumed with rose-water?' " He ventures to differ with Newton, nevertheless, in explaining why Milton wrote "the Gates of Azzar"—"this, probably, as Bishop Newton observes, was to avoid too great an alliteration, which the 'Gates of Gaza' would have caused, though (in my opinion) it would have rendered it more beautiful; and (though I do not affirm it as a fact) perhaps Milton gave it that name for the sake of novelty, as all the world knows he was a great pedant." At about this time the young poet and critic "wrote an epic of twelve thousand lines à la Walter Scott,—full of battles, dealing, too, with sea and mountain scenery,—with Scott's regularity of octo-syllables and his occasional varieties. Though the performance was very likely worth nothing, I never felt myself more truly inspired. I wrote as much as seventy lines at one time, and used to go shouting them about the fields in the dark. . . . Somewhat later (at fourteen) I wrote a drama in blank verse, which I have still, and other things. It seems to me I wrote them all in perfect metre."

That was assuredly a queer prophecy which his grandfather uttered as he gave the lad half a guinea in recognition of a poem on his grandmother's death: "Here is half a guinea for you, the first you have ever earned by poetry, and take my word for it, the last!"

The boy was a fond observer of Nature in all her moods. As a boy, says the biographer, he would "reel off hundreds of lines such as these:

When winds are east and violets blow,  
And slowly stalks the parson crow.

And

The quick-winged gnat doth make a boat  
Of his old husk wherewith to float  
To a new life! all low things range  
To higher! but I cannot change."

Although of a shy and reserved nature throughout his life, and in his earlier years rendered very melancholy by the sternness and despondency of his father, Alfred had a great fund of humor in his nature such as, with but few exceptions, his poems do not clearly hint at. The "Memoir," however, has many instances of his sense of humor; and a careful reading of his poems will prove



unfounded the charge that he was destitute of this sense. It shows itself very early in his life, and must be considered an integral part of the demonstration that *poeta nascitur*. As an illustration of his sense of humor—a sustaining and important quality in his character as well as in his poetry—we must make room for the following anecdote. “He liked to tell of an owl and a monkey of famous memory. Sitting at night by the open window in his own particular little attic (now used as a store-room for apples and lumber), he heard the cry of a young owl and answered it. The owl came nestling up to him, fed out of his hand, and finally took up its permanent abode with the family. Sometimes it would perch on my grandmother’s head, and was so constantly with her that her pet monkey was made jealous. The monkey was a droll fellow; he would imitate the house-maid scrubbing the floor, and his prime luxury was to singe the hair of his back at a candle. One luckless day he was sitting in a corner of the sill outside the attic window, the owl in the opposite corner. The monkey glared at the owl; the owl watched the monkey with solemn round eyes,—the monkey advancing and retiring, and gibbering like a little Frenchman all the while. The little Frenchman at last plucked up courage, rushed at his solemn opponent, took him by the leg, and hurled him to the ground. ‘One of the most comical scenes,’ my father said, ‘that I have ever witnessed.’ The owl was eventually drowned in the well; dying, it is supposed, a Narcissus death of vanity.”

As an illustration of the dramatic instinct which, many long years afterwards, astonished the world and delighted his friends with *Becket*, *Queen Mary*, *Harold*, and his other plays, we quote from a fragment written at the age of fourteen. Carlos (a spirited stripling with a spice of suspicion and a preponderance of pride) is addressing Michael (his old attendant):

How beautifully looks the moonbeam through  
 The knotted boughs of this long avenue  
 Of thick dark oaks, that arch their arms above,  
 Coeval with the battlemented towers  
 Of my old ancestors!  
 I never look upon them but I glow  
 With an enthusiastic love of them.  
 Methinks an oak-tree never should be planted  
 But near the dwelling of some noble race;  
 For it were almost mockery to hang it  
 O'er the thatched cottage, or the snug brick box  
 Of some sleek citizen.  
 Ye proud aristocrats whose lordly shadows,  
 Chequer'd with moonlight's variation,  
 Richly and darkly girdle these gray walls—

I and my son's sons and our offspring, all  
 Shall perish, and their monuments, with forms  
 Of the unfading marble carved upon them,  
 Which speak to us of other centuries,  
 Shall perish also, but ye still shall flourish  
 In your high pomp of shade, and make beneath  
 Ambrosial gloom.

The sentiment suggests our own Bryant's early and imperishable triumph of *Thanatopsis*; and although so vastly inferior, still is noteworthy as illustrating a precocious mastery of rhythms and imaginative language. Truly, *Poeta nascitur*. While we marvel at these buddings of the Tennysonian genius, we cannot fail to recall to mind the more striking achievement of Pope's poetic precocity—the exquisite *Ode on Solitude*, which is no unworthy rival of Horace's *Beatus ille qui procul negotiis*. Both poets lisped in numbers, and gave the clearest possible evidence that *Poeta nascitur*.

## II. ET FIT.

There be poets who sing no songs. When the poet, however, attempts to sing, he ventures into the temple of Art, and must be initiated into the mysteries if he will exercise worthily the priesthood of poesy. Tennyson had the advantage of training in his art from his earliest years. "My father once said to me," he wrote in 1890, "'Don't write so rhythmically; break your lines occasionally for the sake of variety.'" And he continues to insist that the poet precedes the artist: "'Artist first, then Poet,' some writer said of me. I should answer, 'Poeta nascitur non fit'; indeed, 'Poeta nascitur et fit.' I suppose I was nearer thirty than twenty before I was anything of an artist."

Hallam Tennyson has noted in many places through the two volumes of the "Memoir" the constant study expended by his father on the slightest details of the moods of Nature, on birds and flowers and skies and clouds, and especially on sea-phenomena. When a child he came across the verse in the Apocalypse, "There was no more *sea*," and could not reconcile himself to a "future where there should be no sea!" "Like Wordsworth on the mountains," said Fitzgerald, "Alfred, too, when a lad abroad on the wold, sometimes of a night with the shepherd, watched not only the flock on the greensward, but also

The fleecy star that bears  
 Andromeda far off Atlantic seas."

And Hallam notes that "from his boyhood my father had a passion for the sea, and especially for the North Sea in wild weather—

The hollow ocean-ridges roaring into cataracts;



and for the glorious sunsets over the flats—

The wide-wing'd sunset of the misty marsh."

He gathered his inspiration sometimes in the humblest fields. "When I went by the first train from Liverpool to Manchester (1830), I thought that the wheels ran in a groove. It was a black night, and there was such a vast crowd round the train at the station that we could not see the wheels." Then it was that he made the line in *Locksley Hall*: "Let the great world spin forever down the ringing grooves of change." A prosaic buoy bobbing in the dark sea at Torquay became to his poetic eye a "star of phosphorescence," and suggested these lines in *Audley Court* (published in 1843):

The bay was oily calm; the harbor-buoy,  
Sole star of phosphorescence in the calm,  
With one green sparkle ever and anon  
Dipt by itself, and we were glad at heart.

He noted with scrupulous nicety the humors of the sea at different times and places. One sea is "not a grand sea, only an angry curt sea"; another had "interminable waves rolling along interminable shores of sand"; at Valencia, "the sea was grand, without any wind blowing and seemingly without a wave; but with the momentum of the Atlantic behind, it dashes up into foam, blue diamonds it looks like, all along the rocks, like ghosts playing at hide-and-seek." When on a visit to Ireland in 1843 he wrote these lines (in *Merlin and Vivien*) in one of the caves of Ballybunion:

So dark a forethought rolled about his brain,  
As on a dull day in an ocean cave  
The blind wave feeling round his long sea-hall  
In silence.

Looking at the sea one night at Torquay, when the moon was "muffled" by a thin vapor that covered the sky, he catches the suggestion of the line:

A full sea glazed with muffled moonlight.

A storm in the middle of the North Sea gives him the line in the *Idylls of the King*:

With all  
Its stormy crests that smote against the skies.

Tours in Cornwall, Isle of Wight and Ireland in 1860 furnished him the following sea-memoranda, which he jotted down in his note-book:

- (*Babbicombe.*)— Like serpent-coils upon the deep.  
 (*Torquay.*)— As the little thrift  
 Trembles in perilous places o'er the deep.  
 (*The open sea.*)— Two great ships  
 That draw together in a calm.  
 (*I. of Wight.*)— As those that lie on happy shores and see  
 Thro' the near blossom slip the distant sail.  
 (*Valencia.*)— Claps of thunder on the cliffs  
 Amid the solid roar.  
 (*Bray Head.*)— O friend, the great deeps of Eternity  
 Roar only round the wasting cliffs of Time.  
 (*The river Shannon, on the rapids.*)—Ledges of battling water.

Tyndall, a quick observer and elegant expositor as he was of nature, wrote to Hallam Tennyson, describing a visit to the poet at Freshwater. *Inter alia* he says: "I occasionally sat near the shore observing the advance of the waves and listening to their thunder. The pebbles and shingles on the beach are mostly of flint, and emit a sharp sound on collision with each other. As the billows break and roll up the beach they carry the shingle along with them, and on their retreat they carry it downwards. Here the collisions of the flint pebbles are innumerable. They blend together in a continuous sound, which could not be better described than by the line in 'Maud':

Now to the scream of a maddened beach dragged down by the wave";

and this line of the poet, quoted by a scientist as the best possible description of the scene, was actually written anent that very beach! The poet gloried in having written the line

Roared as when the roaring breakers boom and blanch on the precipices.

This love and accurate description of sea-moods is found in many of the poet's works, and recalls a sympathetic treatment of the same theme—and perhaps quite as felicitous a treatment—by our own Lowell, who, in many places, but notably in *Pictures from Appledore*, has painted "marines" which are masterpieces of accuracy and vividness.

In his observation of nature Tennyson must have made impossible forevermore the mere "closet" poet. His inspiration came not from books or from brother poets, or from the classical worthies, but from his own close study of the scenes he himself witnessed. He is in Wales, and hears the roar of a cataract above the roar of a torrent, and he writes:



For as one

That listens near a torrent mountain-brook,  
All thro' the crash of the near cataract hears  
The drumming thunder of the huger fall  
At distance, were the soldiers wont to hear  
His voice in battle.

He sees a cow "drinking from a trough on the hill-side," and he jots down in his note-book: "The netted beams of light played on the wrinkles of her throat." He notes, with respect to the Cornwall wildflower called "lady's finger," that when opened it is of a golden yellow, but "of a rich orange red" when unopened. He condescends to notice at Bonchurch "a little salt pool fluttering round a stone upon the shore." The torrent of the Gave de Pau enchanted him—as whom has it not?—and he "sat by it and watched it, and seemed to be possessed by the spirit of delight." The romantic beauty of this region gave him more than one inspiration. A cataract falling over a cliff suggests that loveliest figure in the "Lotos-Eaters," "slow-dropping veils of thinnest lawn." He borrows the simile of "the stately pine" in *The Princess* from a pine "on an island in mid-stream between two cataracts":

And standing like a stately Pine  
Set in a cataract on an island crag,  
When storm is on the heights, and right and left  
Suck'd from the dark heart of the long hills roll  
The torrents, dash'd to the vale: and yet her will  
Bred will in me to overcome it or fall.

In *Enoch Arden* he constructs a fine figure out of a familiar term used in the western parts of England, the "calling of the sea" for the "ground-swell":

There came so loud a calling of the sea.

"When this occurs on a windless night, the echo of it rings thro' the timbers of the old houses in the haven," he remarks. He sees an old oak that strikes his fancy, and forthwith writes these lines of *The Last Tournament*:

A stump of oak half-dead,  
From roots like some black coil of carven snakes,  
Clutched at the crag, and started thro' mid-air  
Bearing an eagle's nest.

At Farringford, his wife notes in her journal that "there has been a great deal of smoke"—that is, the pollen of the yew blown and

scattered by the wind—"in the yew-trees this year. One day there was such a cloud that it seemed to be a fire in the shrubbery." Then it was that Tennyson wrote the lines in *The Holy Grail*:

O brother, I have seen this yew-tree smoke,  
Spring after spring, for half a hundred years.

At Farringford, again, "after the Down had been wrapt in mist through one night, the next morning it looked as if covered with flashing jewels—all the colors of the rainbow," and he finds how best to picture the richness of the dress offered to Enid by the Earl of Doorm:

And thicker down the front  
With jewels than the sward with drops of dew,  
When all night long a cloud clings to the hill,  
And with the dawn ascending lets the day  
Strike where it clung; so thickly shone the gems.

Here, again, the hyacinth wood suggested the figure:

Sheets of hyacinth  
That seemed the heavens upbreaking through the earth.

*Poeta fit.* Tennyson spared no trouble to learn the alphabet of his art, to understand the *materies poescos*. In 1853 he began a flower dictionary, took up the study of geology, made long expeditions under the tutorage of a local geologist, bought spy-glasses "through which he might watch the ways and movements of the birds in the ilexes, cedar and fir-trees." In 1856 he finds his daily quantum of exercise in planting trees and shrubs, "taking all the while a loving note of Nature. Thus as he was digging one day a well-known line formed itself:

As careful robins eye the delver's toil."

Tyndall visited the poet in 1858, and thus refers to the desire of the poet for the greatest possible accuracy in matters relating to Nature: "The noble Atlas of Keith Johnson lay upon his table. In regard to metaphors drawn from 'science, your father, like Carlyle, made sure of their truth. To secure accuracy he spared no pains. I found in his room charts of isothermals and isobars intended to ensure the exactitude of certain allusions of his to physical science. In illustration of this, the late Lord Houghton, while still Mr. Moncton Milnes, once told me that, having composed an exquisite poem upon a flower, Tennyson discarded it because of some botanical flaw."

His study becomes at length an instinctive matter with him, so



that, as a friend wrote of him in 1864, "However absorbed Tennyson might be in earnest talk, his eye and ear were always alive to the natural objects around him. I have often known him stop short in a sentence to listen to a blackbird's song, to watch the sunlight glint on a butterfly's wing, or to examine a field-flower at his feet. The lines on 'The Flower' were the result of an investigation of the 'love-in-idleness' growing at Farringford—he made them nearly all on the spot and said them to me (as they are) next day. Trees and plants had a special attraction for him, and he longed to the last to see the vegetation of the Tropics."

The poet himself assigned as his reason for selecting English themes and scenes for his poems that he could not truly portray the atmosphere of foreign lands. His sureness and accuracy of observation make it dangerous to challenge any of his descriptions of nature. Even Ruskin erred in criticizing as a "pathetic fallacy" the line in *Maud*:

And left the daisies rosy.

"Why," said Tennyson, with some resentment, "the very day I wrote it I saw the daisies rosy in Maiden's Croft, and thought of enclosing one to Ruskin labelled 'A pathetic fallacy!'" In a letter written by the poet in 1847 he refers to another critic as follows: "When I was about twenty or twenty-one I went on a tour of the Pyrenees. Lying among these mountains before a waterfall that comes down one thousand or twelve hundred feet I sketched it (according to my custom then) in these words:

Slow-dropping veils of thinnest lawn.

When I printed this, a critic informed me that 'lawn' was the material used in theatres to imitate a waterfall, and graciously added, 'Mr. T. should not go to the boards of a theatre but to Nature herself for his suggestions.' And I had gone to Nature herself."

### III. RHYTHMIC AND METRIC.

While Tennyson was careful to draw his inspiration from Nature, he made a very special study of Rhythms. An elaborate doctrine of Tennysonian metres based on his actual use of them in his poems and on the occasional glimpses the "Memoir" gives us of his theoretic views would prove a highly important as well as, we think, a highly interesting addition to the science of English verse. Our literature does not, indeed, lack some few significant treatises on the general subject; while it has been treated in par-

tial, special and fragmentary ways by many writers. But a special study of such masters of metre and rhythm as Tennyson and Swinburne would go far to establish a desirable standard—objective and intelligible—of correct taste.

Unfortunately, there is given in the "Memoir" no hint of any consecutive or rationally ordered study, on the part of the poet, of a subject to which he gave unquestionably much thought; and we think it dangerous to relegate to a critic who is not a poet, or at least an elegant versifier, the treatment of a subject in which the cultivated poetic ear must be the court of last appeal. Sidney Lanier was equipped properly for his work on the "Science of English Verse"; but we hesitate to accept the doctrines of a profound mathematician like Sylvester, because the abstract reasoning of the mathematical faculty seems forbidding when it concerns itself with such an eminently concrete thing as the melody of language.

In the artistic sense, *Poeta fit*. And the question forces itself on the admirer of any "Mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies," whether his success was wholly due to the instinctive guidance of a highly cultivated and sensitively musical "ear," or whether it was due in part to a regular study of what Mr. Sylvester has termed "The Laws of Verse." By a "musical ear" we do not mean that sense appreciative of "music" in its common acceptance, which in Mozart manifested itself in the precocious composition of a melody when he was but four years old, and which in a lesser way is so common as to have merited for music the title of the Universal Language; we mean simply a sense which recognizes the melodious sounds, whether single or successive, of language.

It is an old theory that the poet must have an "ear for music" in the musician's parlance. The poet of the early Greek art was not a "maker" but a "singer," and he was not called ποιητής, but ἀυδός. The Romans, too, sometimes confounded poets with musicians.

The identity of the two "ears" is a theory of dazzling attractiveness for the unpoetic critic of poetry. A certain professor of English in one of our universities informed his class, with dogmatic conviction, that it was wholly impossible for a person without an ear for music to write musical verse. But this delightful theory will not stand the test of actual fact. The most musical fashioner of words into rhythm that we have known personally was unable to appreciate the difference between high and low sounds; could recognize only two tunes, and these only by their



different rhythms. In this ability he very much resembled General Grant, who used to say that he could distinguish but two tunes, one of which was Yankee Doodle and the other of which was *not* Yankee Doodle. Old Dr. Johnson, again, who had some little claim to the title of "poet," considered music as "the least disagreeable of noises." Charles Lamb, similarly, found himself able to write pleasing verse, although the only pretence he could offer in the way of a musical ear was that, while organically *unable* to utter a musical sound, constitutionally he was *not averse* to melody. Shelley, who was little else if not melodious in his verse, had, very probably, no real passion for music. Rossetti, it is said, disliked music. How was it with Tennyson—that master of melodiousness in verse?

We can understand how Carlyle, who gave utterance to the profoundly beautiful thought, "See deeply enough and you will see musically," could have said of the poet Tennyson: "The man must have music dormant in him, revealing itself in verse," and should have characterized the poet's rich diapason voice as "like the sound of a pine-wood." Edward Fitzgerald, nevertheless, speaking of his college days, remarked that the poet "was not thought to have an ear for music; I remember little of his execution in the line except humming over 'the weary pund o' tow,' which was more because of the weary moral, I think, than for any music's sake." He was, however, fond of Beethoven—especially of some of his settings of German lyrics. Perhaps in this case it was the words rather than the music that affected him. His appreciation of music probably had some element in it of the ideal developed so systematically by Wagner; for on hearing Haydn's music descriptive of Chaos, he remarked that "the violins *spoke of light*." Of the scientific aspect of music he seems to have had scarcely any knowledge, although lamenting the lack of it. "I can feel the glory," he said, "though I cannot follow the music. I know that I miss a great deal by not understanding it. It often seems to me that music must take up expression at the point where poetry leaves off, and expresses what cannot be expressed in words." When nearly threescore and ten he hears Joachim playing the "Trillo del Diavolo," and feels less the magic of melody than the "soft eye-music" of Wordsworthian enjoyment: "I can feel the magic and poetry of the *Bowing*," he said.

It seems pretty clear, therefore, that his marvellous sensitiveness to the melody of language was not built on any sympathetic love for music, whether melody or harmony. His triumphs illustrate the futility of attempting to identify the two "ears," or even

to associate them by any essential connection ; for with no decided musical ear he certainly had a wondrously acute development both of the physical and of the poetic ear.

Nevertheless, it was said with truth of him that no one has written finer things about music :

Music that gentlier on the spirit lies  
Than tir'd eyelids upon tir'd eyes.

The tides of music's golden sea  
Setting toward Eternity.

The glory of the sum of things  
Will flash along the chords and go.

Love took up the harp of life and smote on all the chords with might,  
Smote the chord of self that trembling past in music out of sight.

Like Collins, he could hear "the short, shrill shriek" of a bat, and this he considered the test of a fine ear. In some notes which he left on *Maud* we find the interesting fact stated that he designed the words "Maud, Maud, Maud," to imitate the rook's caw ; and the words "Maud is here, here, here," the call of the little birds. He was at times laboriously minute in his avoidance of ill-sounding phrases. Having written the line in "Enid" originally :

Had wedded Enid, Yniol's only child,

he discovers that "Enid" is pronounced with the "e" short (as though spelt "Ennid"), and he therefore changes "wedded" into "married" to avoid the concurrence of the two short sounds. He thought that "as the English language is much finer than the Italian for variety of sound, so Milton for sound is often finer than Dante," and illustrated by the monotony of the "a's" in the opening lines of the "Inferno" :

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita  
Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura,  
Che la diritta via era smarrita, etc.

"He felt what Cowper calls the 'musical finesse' of Pope, and admired single lines and couplets very much ; but he found the 'regular da, da, da, da' of his heroic metre monotonous. He quoted

'What dire offence from amorous causes springs.'

'Amrus causiz springs,' horrible ! I would sooner die than write such a line ! Archbishop Trench (not then archbishop) was the only critic who said of my first volume, 'What a singular absence of the "s" !'



Reading aloud his *Ode on the Duke of Wellington*, he "dwelt long on the final words, letting them ring, so to speak, especially 'toll'd, Boom.' At the end he said, 'It is a great roll of words, the music of words. For a hundred people who can sing a song there are not ten who can read a poem. People do not understand the music of words.' "

Who will not immediately detect the rushing of rivulets, the moaning of doves, the murmuring of bees in the lines

Myriads of rivulets hurrying thro' the lawn,  
The moan of doves in immemorial elms,  
And murmuring of innumerable bees,

and who will not echo the criticism that they are as felicitous as Theocritus?

He writes thirty-four lines of a poem on *Reticence*, and leaves it unfinished because his eye—or rather ear—notices two "her's" coming together; he is vexed, throws the fragment aside, and finally forgets entirely its existence. Of Goethe he said that he "could not quite overcome the harshnesses of the German language. 'Kennst du das Land' is a perfect poem, but 'Beschuetzer ziehn' is a hideous sound in the middle." He thought Gray had a "wonderful ear," and held these to be "among the most liquid lines in any language":

Though he inherit  
Nor the pride, nor ample pinion  
That the Theban eagle bear,  
Sailing with supreme dominion  
Through the azure deep of air.

With these he coupled:

And drowsy tinklings lull the distant folds.

For the same reason he criticized the line in Collins' poem on the death of Thomson:

The year's best sweets shall duteous rise.

Tennyson asserted that he never made one sibilant sound immediately precede another. The assertion displays his estimate of the unmusicalness of such a juxtaposition, but is nevertheless incorrect as a matter of fact; for he does so more than once, as, for example:

A grief, then changed to something else  
Sung by a long-forgotten mind.

Also:

May breathe with many roses sweet.

He comments on the "liquid lines" of Milton :

and Groves whose rich trees wept odorous gums and balm,  
and And sweet reluctant amorous delay,

And in the ascending scale  
Of Heaven, the stars that usher evening rose—

remarking of the last line that it "is lovely because it is full of vowels, which are all different. It is even a more beautiful line than those where the repetition of the same vowels or of the same consonants sometimes are (is) so melodious."

His carefulness was minute and exacting. "The Foresters" was put on the stage by Daly in 1892. "'Robin and Richard!' Did you notice that I would not say 'Richard and Robin?' It does not sound well," Tennyson said to a friend.

So much for the poet's doctrine and practice with respect to the melodious sounds of language. Closely connected with this is the subject of alliteration—such a prominent feature of his verse that it almost obtrudes itself even on the notice of dull ears. It is therefore interesting to find Tennyson remarking, in 1864, that he is not, as most readers are inclined to think, "studiedly alliterative." "Why," he said, "when I spout my lines first, they come out so alliteratively that I have sometimes no end of trouble to get rid of the alliteration." In "The Battle of Brunanburh" he uses it of set purpose, however, to give a flavor of the old Beowulfian song—"My father himself liked the rush of the alliterative verse, as giving something of the old English war-song.

The struggle of standards,  
The rush of the javelins,  
The crash of the charges,  
The wielding of weapons—  
The play that they play'd with,  
The children of Edward."

Lowell had pushed the alliterative suggestion farther with more correctness of imitation, and with better effect, in "The Voyage to Vinland" :

Looms there the New Land :  
Locked in the shadow  
Long the gods shut it,  
Niggards of newness  
They, the o'er-old.  
  
Little it looks there,  
Slim as a cloud-streak ;  
It shall fold peoples  
Even as a shepherd  
Foldeth his flock.



Scattered through the "Memoir" we find some very interesting views of the poet respecting metres, as well classical as English. His metrical ear was, as has been already stated, well developed in his early boyhood. When about eight years old he writes Thomsonian blank verse by the square foot; and when a couple of years older, wrote the regular Popeian metre of Homer's "Iliad" by the square yard, attaining such facility in this line that he could even improvise. He received most of his training in the best possible palæstra—the works of his favorite poets; but this was supplemented by probably more than one hint from his father, who "was a poet and could write regular metre very skilfully." One instance of the parental help is recorded by the poet: "My father once said to me, 'Don't write so rhythmically; break your lines occasionally for the sake of variety.'"

When his first volume, "Poems, Chiefly Lyrical," appeared in 1830, his friend Arthur Hallam noted "the variety of his lyrical measures and the exquisite modulation of harmonious words and cadences to the swell and fall of the feelings expressed." It is a curious fact that the eminent metrist as well as poet, Coleridge, to whose poetry Tennyson was then devoted, should have misunderstood Tennyson's metrical forms. He "was more reserved" than Hallam in his praise about the first two ventures. "I have not read through all Mr. Tennyson's poems which have been sent to me, but I think there are some things of a good deal of beauty in what I have seen. The misfortune is that he has begun to write verses without very well understanding what metre is"! Commenting on this criticism some sixty years after, Tennyson said: "Coleridge did not know much about my poems, for he confounded Charles and me. From what I have heard he may have read *Glen-river* in 'above the loud Glen-river,' and *tendriltwine* in the line 'mantled with flowering tendriltwine' dactylically, because I had an absurd antipathy to hyphens, and put two words together as one word. If that was the case, he might well have wished that I had more sense of metre."

Perhaps rendered sensitive by this criticism of Coleridge, and fearful that his readers would wholly misconstrue the rhythms of his poem, "The Hesperides," the poet suppressed it after its publication (in 1833), contributing some of its beauty to a revised draft of "The Lotos-Eaters." Mr. Luce thinks "The Hesperides" "was rejected possibly on account of a few slight weaknesses, but more probably because its resemblances marred the single beauty of 'The Lotos-Eaters.'" The "Memoir" informs us, however, that the poet regretted, in after years, having excised

the poem from his "Juvenilia," but does not give the reason for its suppression. From the fact that the poem is republished in the "Memoir" with metrical accents written by the poet himself, we may fairly conclude that the reason for the suppression must have been, as we have just suggested, the extreme danger of mistaking its metrical character, rather than either of the reasons suggested by Mr. Luce.

In the 1842 volume appeared *Break, break, break*, that lyric of marvellous metrical appropriateness. The only comment made in the "Memoir" on this poem is that "it was made in a Lincolnshire lane at 5 o'clock in the morning between blossoming hedges." And in Mr. Luce's excellent "Handbook," while much space is given to an analysis of the poem, not a word is said on its metrical aspect. And yet by many an ear this beauty of its music is undoubtedly not recognized. We once heard a quondam professor of English literature, who was also a fine wielder of the Queen's English, read the first line without any pauses between the words. Plainly, the line should be read with a clear indication of the time-elements in it.

The time-measure of the poem is four feet to the line. In the first line, however, there are but three syllables. These, therefore, are to occupy the space assigned to a line of four feet. The meaning of the first line becomes at once apparent, the figure conjured up in the imagination by the lapse in metre being that of waves gathering strength for the supreme attack, the repulse indicated by the "k" of "break," and then, in the metrical silence following this word, the noiseless relapse of the broken wave. It is a perfect picture, painted vividly by the help of the time-element in metre.

In "Locksley Hall" the poet condescended to the popular taste that expresses a preference for trochaics: "Mr. Hallam said to me that the English people liked verse in trochaics, so I wrote the poem in this metre."

He thought he had originated the metre of "In Memoriam," and "had no notion till 1880 that Lord Herbert of Cherbury had written his occasional verses in the same metre." He believed himself the originator till some one told him, after the publication of the poem, that Ben Jonson and Sir Philip Sidney had used it. Brother Azarias well notes, in his essay on "The Spiritual Sense of 'In Memoriam,'" that "the poet made a happy selection. This form gives him great freedom. He is not tied down to any set number of stanzas. He can always stop when the inspiration ceases. It has become in his hands a most pliant instrument for the expression of many and various notes."



"He was proud of the metre of 'The Daisy,' which he called a far-off echo of the Horatian Alcaic." To illustrate this we quote here the stanzas xix., xx.,—stanza xix. because it contains a reference to the Virgilian metre he loved—likening it to the rhythmic lapse of the stream—and stanza xx. because it gives the reason for this predilection:

From Como, when the light was gray,  
And in my head, for half the day,  
The rich Virgilian rustic measure  
Of Lari Maxume, all the way,

Like ballad-burthen music, kept,  
As on the Lariano crept  
To that fair port below the castle  
Of Queen Theodolind, where we slept, etc.

The reference to Virgil is the "Georgics," ii., 159. The echo of the Alcaic measure is found, doubtless, in the last two lines of the stanza, or, more precisely, in the last foot (trochaic) of the third line, and in the dactyl introduced into the middle of the last line, imitating somewhat the swing of the last two lines of an Alcaic stanza, *e.g.*,

Spargent olivetis odorem  
Fertilibus domino priori.

He seems to have been attracted by the Alcaic stanza of Horace—the favorite of the Roman lyricist, in which he wrote most of his odes—and has enshrined in a poem of four stanzas composed in that form a splendid portrait of Milton:

Oh, mighty-mouth'd inventor of harmonies,  
Oh, skilled to sing of time and eternity,  
God-gifted organ-voice of England—  
Milton, a name to resound for ages.

In this poem he has surely achieved a masterpiece of metrical adaptation, our mother tongue being very loath to sing in such a cramping cage. German yields itself more readily to such treatment, or at least the German poets have been the most successful in the attempt to copy classical metres. In "An Gott," Klopstock has written thirty-four stanzas of Alcaics, apparently with the greatest ease. His "Hermann und Thusnelda" is an instance of another felicitous use of a refractory classical metre. Tennyson, however, disliked German hexameters—no doubt with reason—and considered them even less felicitous than English accentual hexameters. He thought the attempt to render Homer into English accentual hexameters a great mistake, and that even quantitative

English hexameters would serve, as a rule, only comic themes, "tho' of course you might go on with perfect hexameters of the following kind, but they would grow monotonous :

High woods roaring above me, dark leaves falling about me."

"Englishmen will spoil English verses by scanning when they are reading, and they confound accent and quantity"; "and," continues his son, "as an illustration of a quantitative line regardless of accent he suggested the following pentameter :

All men alike hate slops, particularly gruel."

He found Coleridge's imitative description of an elegiac couplet faulty :

In the hexameter rises the fountain's silvery column—  
In the pentameter aye falling in melody back ;

and altered it, so as to bring it into quantitative form, thus :

Up springs hexameter with might, as a fountain arising,  
Lightly the fountain falls, lightly the pentameter.

The "Memoir" does not give the poet's reasons for objecting to the Coleridgian couplet, and we, therefore, make room here for the analysis made by Tom Hood, son of the singer of "The Bridge of Sighs," in his "Rhymester": "The first feet of both lines are less dactyls than anapæsts. The cæsure of the first line is not the 'worthier' cæsure. In the second line the monosyllable is inadmissible in the last place. Here I may as well point out what seems to me to be a difficulty of English versification which has given much trouble. The substitution of accent for quantity is not all that is required to make the best verse. Quantity enters into the consideration, too. A combination of consonants, giving an almost imperceptible weight to the vowel preceding them, goes far to disqualify it for a place as an unaccented syllable. To my thinking 'rises a' would be a better English dactyl than 'rises the,' and 'falls it in' than 'falling in.' But no agglomeration of consonants can make such a syllable accented. Two lines from Coleridge's 'Mahomet' will evidence this :

'Huge wasteful empires founded and hallowed slow persecution,  
Soul-withering but crush'd the blasphemous rites of the pagan.'

'Huge wasteful' is not a dactyl, and 'ing but' is certainly not a spondee—nor is 'crushed the.' 'Hallowed,' by force of the broad 'o,' is almost perfect as a spondee, on the other hand; as is



'empires' also. Longfellow, in his 'Evangeline,' has, perhaps, done the best that can be done to give an exact rendering of the Latin hexameter; but Tennyson, in portions of 'Maud,' has caught its spirit, and transferred it into an English form. No poet, indeed, has done so much as the Laureate to introduce new or revive old forms of versification, and enrich the language with musical measure." This passage is rather long for a single quotation, but our apology must be, first, the evidence it furnishes that other students of metre than the Laureate felt keenly the limitations of our mother tongue, and the almost impossibility of bending its structure into a fit vehicle for carrying well the cumbrous classical metres; and secondly, the tribute it pays to the genius of Longfellow in this matter, as well as to Tennyson for the elegant standards he has set up in English metres.

Several examples are given, in the "Memoir," of Virgilian and Homeric hexameters which especially pleased the poet; "Virgil's finest hexameters, he thought, occurred in the 'Georgics,' and in that noble sixth book of the 'Æneid.'" We fail, however, to thoroughly understand the poet's assertion that "twice in the first two lines of the first 'Æneid,' and elsewhere perpetually, quantity is contradicted by accent." This criticism might have force if we but knew exactly how the ancients read their majestic rhythms. That accent "contradicted" quantity seems to us a bold view to put forth with respect to an accomplished versifier as well as poet, like Virgil; and to say that this is done by him "perpetually" is to reverse the prime rule of deduction and criticism, which should first study the model and draw thence the rules that govern its beauty, rather than measure its metrical worth by any preconceived—and probably erroneous, and at best tentative—standards of our own. If the old *arsis* meant *accent* in our English sense, and *thesis* meant the *absence* of accent, the criticism might be a just one; but if *arsis* meant *length*, or perhaps *acuteness*, and *thesis* meant *shortness*, or perhaps *lowness*, of sound—or if, as many have contended, an accented syllable in Greek (for instance) neither necessarily nor even frequently received the stress of the voice which we in English call accent—the criticism labors under an ambiguity of terms that must render it futile. Instead, then, of saying that a short quantity is contradicted by an accent falling upon it, we should perhaps rather say that Virgil has, in some way not perfectly clear to us, harmonized the two.

For the same reason, we fail to understand the poet's comparative estimate of the Greek and the Horatian Alcaics and Sapphics. He published his experiments in classical quantity in the

"Cornhill Magazine" (December, 1863), annotating his "Ode to Milton" as follows: "My Alcaics are not intended for Horatian Alcaics, nor are Horace's Alcaics the Greek Alcaics, nor are his Sapphics, which are vastly inferior to Sappho's, the Greek Sapphics. The Horatian Alcaic is perhaps the stateliest metre in the world except the Virgilian hexameter at its best; but the Greek Alcaic, if we may judge from the two or three specimens left, had a much freer and lighter movement; and I have no doubt that an old Greek, if he knew our language, would admit my Alcaics as legitimate, only Milton must not be pronounced *Milton*." How may we venture to estimate the metrical effect of the Alcaic or the Sapphic verse as it sounded to the Greek ear? or on the Greek tongue? It is surely a fair inference, from Horace's familiarity with it, that his adaptation of it to Latin was—must have been—a more correct, as well as a more felicitous one, than any modern poet's adaptation—which at best must be in the nature of a groping interpretation—to his own vernacular. Latin has been so long a dead tongue that we are floundering amidst a dozen waves of diverse pronunciation.

Devine si tu peux, et choisis si tu l'oses.

And the old Greek—who shall tell us how it was pronounced? By accents, as we find it written, or according to the quantitative scheme of Latin prosody? Or who may assure us that the modern Greek values of the alphabet do not constitute a ludicrous parody of the speech of Alcæus or Sappho? The quantitative values of English—a living tongue—have changed so much even since the days and in despite of the master work of Shakspeare, that if he had constructed his metres out of quantitative rather than accentual elements of rhythm we should find it extremely difficult to catch his music.

Let us dismiss the subject of Alcaics with Tennyson's whimsical imitation of the last two lines of an Alcaic stanza:

Thine early rising well repaid thee,  
Munificently rewarded artist.

Another bit of comicality *in re* classical metres is found in the letter written by the poet from Llanberis, during a trip to North Wales in 1879, conveying details of the trip, in English parodies of what in Latin he styled, in his "Ode to Virgil," "the stateliest measure ever moulded by the lips of man." We can sympathize with the nerves of the poet while in the room above his quarters at the hotel a jovial party prepared to usher in the morn:

Dancing above was heard, heavy feet to the sound of a light air,  
Light were the feet no doubt but floors were misrepresenting.

He describes the walk in the morning—assimilating easily the crude masses of Welsh topographical nomenclature :

Walked to the Vale Gwynant, Llan Gwynant shone very distant  
Touched by the morning sun, great mountains glorying o'er it,  
Moel Hebog loomed out, and Siabod tower'd up in aether :  
Liked Beddgelert much, flat green with murmur of waters,  
Bathed in a deep still pool not far from Pont Aberglaslyn—  
(Ravens croaked, and took white, human skin for a lambkin.)  
Then we returned. What a day! Many more if fate will allow it.

After such an illustration, we feel that if there was any vanity in the poet on the subject of metres, it was almost justifiable.

The indebtedness of Tennyson to classical metres for many of his happiest inspirations in rhythm goes far to demonstrate the plea of Mr. J. Churton Collins that no amount of philological training can supersede the necessity of a large familiarity with the ancient classics in the study of English literature. He bases his plea more on the culturing ideas than on the mere forms, indeed ; but if it were a question simply of the forms of verse, his contention would be justified by the example of Tennyson. Sappho, Theocritus, Catullus, not to speak of Homer, Virgil, Horace, and other masters of ancient rhythm, ministered to his muse. The metre of *Boädicea* (written in 1859) was "an echo of the metre in the 'Atys' of Catullus" as he himself noted.

While about the shore of Mona those Neronian legionaries  
Burnt and broke the grove and altar of the Druid and Druidess, etc.

While he gloried in his new English metre, he "feared that no one could read it except himself, and wanted someone to annotate it musically so that people could understand the rhythm." "If they would only read it straight like prose, just as it is written, it would come all right," he said. He seems to have been sensitive on this subject ; for in a letter written to the Duke of Argyll in 1861, he says : "'Boädicea,' no, I cannot publish her yet, perhaps never, for who can read her except myself?" Three years after, Robert Browning writes to him that he considers the new metre admirable, "a paladin's achievement in its way." Mr. Luce thinks that in *Boädicea* "the poet has written what are, perhaps, the most sonorous lines in our language. . . . As in some of the verses in 'Maud' and 'The May Queen,' the accents, eight in each line, become the basis of the measure, more or less irrespective of the number of syllables."



To Catullus he is indebted again for his otherwise uninteresting *Hendecasyllabics* :

O you chorus of indolent reviewers,  
Irresponsible, indolent reviewers.  
Look, I come to the test, a tiny poem  
All composed in a metre of Catullus,  
All in quantity, careful of my motion, etc.

He was attracted by the metres of Catullus, but not by his doctrine : " Catullus says that a poet's lines may be impure provided his life is pure. I don't agree with him : his verses fly much further than he does. There is hardly any crime greater than for a man with genius to propagate vice by his written words. I have always admired him : ' Acme and Septimius ' is lovely. Then he has very pretty metres. ' Collis O Heliconii ' is in a beautiful metre. I wrote a great part of my ' Jubilee Ode ' in it. People didn't understand. They don't understand these things. They don't understand English scansion. In the line ' Dream not of where some sunny rose may linger ' they said the first syllable of ' sunny ' was long, whereas it evidently is short. Doubling the *n* in English makes the vowel before short."

Asked to construct a Sapphic stanza in quantity with the Greek cadence, he gave this :

Faded ev'ry violet, all the roses ;  
Gone the glorious promise ; and the victim,  
Broken in this anger of Aphrodite,  
Yields to the victor.

Here it will be noticed that he discards the cæsure of Horace's unvarying practice, and follows strictly the type set by Sappho.

Tennyson " confessed that he believed he knew the quantity of every word in the English language except, perhaps, ' scissors.' "

While disliking the Horatian type of the Sapphic stanza, whose Adonic he would " audaciously define," writes Mr. Palgrave, as " like a pig with its tail tightly curled," he was " deeply moved by the Roman dignity which Horace had imparted to the Sapphic in the ' Non enim gazae.' . . . "

We have perhaps dwelt at too great length on his fondness for the old classics and their metres, but the moral to be drawn was too attractive to be passed over without large illustration—the moral, namely, of the necessity of a familiarity on the part of an ambitious versifier with the old classics, which are such excellent instructors in matters of quantity and rhythm.

A few words on his preferences in English metres, and we shall

have finished our discussion of the "mechanics" of Tennysonian verse.

"Among the many metres he invented," writes Hallam Tennyson, "that of 'The Daisy' he ranked among his best, together with some of the anapæstic movements in 'Maud,' and the long-rolling rhythm in his 'Ode to Virgil.'"

With respect to his blank verse, Professor Jebb writes in his "Preface" ("The English Poets," edited by T. H. Ward): "As a metrist he is the creator of a new blank verse, different both from the Elizabethan and from the Miltonic. He has known how to modulate it to every theme and to elicit a music appropriate to each, attuning it in turn to a tender and homely grace, as in 'The Gardener's Daughter'; to the severe and ideal majesty of the antique, as in 'Tithonus'; to meditative thought, as in the 'Ancient Sage,' or 'Akbar's Dream'; to pathetic or tragic tales of contemporary life, as in 'Aylmer's Field,' or 'Enoch Arden'; or to sustained romantic narrative, as in the 'Idylls.' No English poet has used blank verse with such flexible variety, or drawn from it so large a compass of tones, nor has any maintained it so equably on a high level of excellence."

Tennyson said "something like this" to his son: "The English public think that blank verse is the easiest thing in the world to write, mere prose cut up into five-foot lines, whereas it is one of the most difficult. In a blank verse you can have from three up to eight beats; but, if you vary the beats unusually, your ordinary newspaper critic sets up a howl. The varying of the beats, of the construction of the feet, of the emphasis, of the extra-metrical syllables and of the pauses helps to make the greatness of blank verse. There are many other things besides, for instance, a fine ear for vowel-sounds, and the kicking of the geese out of the boat (*i.e.*, doing away with sibilations); but few educated men really understand the structure of blank verse. I never put two 's's' together in any verse of mine. My line is not, as often quoted,

And freedom broadens slowly down—

but

And freedom slowly broadens down."

As has been pointed out, the poet erred in saying this, for he has put two "s's" together more than once, but the remark is interesting as displaying his temper of mind. He considered the blank verse the only fit medium for a translation of the "Iliad." After reading Sir John Herschel's "Book I. of the Iliad Translated in the Hexameter Metre" ("Cornhill Magazine," May, 1862), he wrote

the note prefixed to his own experiment: "Some, and among these at least one of our best and greatest, have endeavored to give us the 'Iliad' in English hexameters, and by what appears to me their failures have gone far to prove the impossibility of the task. I have long held by our blank verse in this matter . . . ." *À propos*, we find him on his eighty-third birthday still harping on blank verse—this time in connection with Virgil. He quotes Milton, and remarks: "This is very like Virgil in its movements. If Virgil is to be translated it ought to be in this elaborate kind of blank verse." Among his last "talks" is this other bit of criticism: "I have been reading in the 'Spectator' that Wordsworth and Keats are great masters of blank verse, who are also great in rhyme. Keats was not a master of blank verse. It might be true of Wordsworth at his best. Blank verse can be the finest mode of expression in our language." Possibly his last utterance on the subject of metre was: "I never could care about French Alexandrines. They are so artificial. The French language lends itself much better to slighter things."

A reading of his poems, together with the valuable sidelights thrown on his estimate of the importance of a scrupulous attention to metre and rhythm, will surely justify Mr. W. E. H. Lecky in his estimate: "His ear for all the delicacies of rhythm has, I suppose, very seldom been equalled."

We have finished our study of the Mechanics of Tennysonian Poetry, as illustrated in the scattering remarks on metre found in the "Memoir." These we have tried to digest and comment upon in our own fashion. We should like to give some notice here of the inspiration of many of his finest poems as indicated in the "Memoir"; but however interesting—and it is only second in interest to the mechanics—this theme would prove, we are compelled to close, at this point, a paper already grown overbulky. We can merely suggest, in conclusion, that the value of any future edition of his works would, in our opinion, be much enhanced by annotating the poems in some such fashion as the lately-published volume of Lowell's poems has been annotated, for lovers of a poet are always interested—and not seldom enlightened—by timely hints of the poet's source of inspiration, motive of composition, literary models consciously followed, friendly suggestions adopted, the rhythmical and metrical purposes of the various poems, etc. Of such helps to poetic interpretation the "Memoir" is a well-filled storehouse.

H. T. HENRY.



## WHAT MAKES A SPECIES?

THIS is a question to which many of our readers would probably be disposed to give a theological answer. But an answer of that kind is one which, for reasons, we above all things wish to avoid. It appears to us, as a result of much intercourse for many years with men of science and with persons of both sexes who really love science for its own sake, that very many of them are beset with an abiding fear of being caught hold of by theology, as by the arms of an octopus, and dragged into a sea of dogma from which they can find no escape. To them (*mirabile dictu*) it seems clear that dogmatic authoritative Christianity is a great evil, if not *the* great evil, and they deem it to be a power which can close men's eyes to the evidence of fact, and which can pervert the volition of men into devious paths, to practice superstitious ceremonies in order to obtain what they desire in another world, to the great detriment of the progress of the human race in the present one.

Therefore they become, as it were, "color blind" and "tone-deaf" by an unconscious process of averting their mental gaze from facts and deductions which seem to them necessarily to conflict with the theology they favor. Such facts and deductions, therefore, run off from their intelligence, as water from a duck's back. Nothing will induce persons so prejudiced to consider them fairly, unless they can first be convinced that the results they so greatly dread would not necessarily follow did they accept the scientific facts and admit the deductions offered to them.

Similarly no positive Christian writer, above all, no man of science who is a Catholic apologist, can hope to obtain a fair hearing. He must not hope it, because those whom he addresses not only dread and detest his creed, but can never persuade themselves that he is even honest; that he really cares for the science he teaches for its own sake; or that his one only object is not to make "Romanists," or at least "Christians," of them, willy nilly. The specious arguments of such a man, they think, are not to be listened to, or, if listened to, then listened to with a mind firmly closed against conviction, and only keenly alive to detect the sophistries and fallacies which *must* be latent in his teaching, because his teaching, if accepted, would bring them under a bondage from which their whole being recoils.

It seems to us that the only way of dealing with such people is to say: "Well, let us assume that no supernatural revelation has been made, that no Church legitimately claiming authority exists, and that no anthropomorphic deity once created and now sustains the universe." Let us, then, for argument's sake, make abstraction of all such doctrines, and take for granted that the abandonment of a mechanical explanation of nature need not carry with it, as a consequence, the Divinity of Christ, the Doctrine of the Trinity, Transubstantiation and Papal Infallibility.

Let us say further to the inquirer: "Admit, if your intelligence is convinced that such is the case, that the universe manifests a reason, latent within it, which is not the reason of man; that there is something which, for want of a better term, we may call with Oersted, 'a soul in nature.' All that does not force you to be a Christian.

"As to the nature of this 'latent reason' you are quite free to remain an 'agnostic,' for, in some respects, we all are and want to be 'agnostics' with respect to it. Adore, if you wish to, the great god Pan, or rehabilitate, if it helps you, the whole heathen Pantheon. Do not, however, shut your eyes, blunt your senses, or paralyze your reason when you look out upon nature, but study and try to apprehend its deeper, if not its deepest, lessons.

"Shake off the paralyzing fears which beset you, be honest, be earnest, and try to view nature with an unprejudiced mind. We, on our part, promise you, in turn, to be absolutely sincere and honest while advocating the truths which we believe nature teaches. We will keep back not only all roundabout attempts to influence your religious belief, but (for the time) all mental reference thereto in our own minds, studiously avoiding anything of the kind, lest we should thereby unconsciously become theological proselytizers, when our one only aim is to be sincere students of nature, willing to follow wherever natural truth leads us."

Only by such a course of conduct can we, we think, induce these mistaken but morally well-meaning persons to put aside their prejudices and consider our arguments dispassionately. Moreover, it must be admitted that some distrust on their part is not altogether unreasonable or unwarranted; for, obviously, the scientific writings and arguments of many among us are evidently undertaken for the sake of edification, and are much more directed (as is, of course, very laudable from the supernatural standpoint) to secure converts to the Church than to advance science purely for its own sake.

Thus it is we have instituted "Catholic Scientific Congresses"

which cannot but give offence as well as edification, since they imply that there is such a thing as "Catholic Science," apart from all theology.

Yet it is impossible to deny that there really is a neutral region of scientific truths which may be apprehended alike by believers and unbelievers, by Christians, pagans, agnostics and dogmatic antitheists.

In such a region lies the multiplication table, the whole of algebra and Euclid, the facts of the world's past history as revealed by geology, and of the annals of mankind as made known by the most recent advances in historical research.

No true man of science, and no true lover of science, Catholic any more than non-Catholic, can avoid a feeling of distrust with respect to the scientific teaching of anyone whose direct and main aim is not the utilization of science for its own sake, but for some ulterior purpose.

Having, then, done my best to make clear that here and now I write purely and simply as a man of science and from the scientific standpoint only, I invite the attention of readers, from whatever bench of the "Parliament of Religions," to the consideration of certain biological facts bearing upon our initial question, "What Makes a Species?"

The disciples of Mr. Darwin and that eminent naturalist, Dr. Alfred R. Wallace (who propounded the theory of "Natural Selection," in the rooms of the Linnæan Society, on the same evening<sup>1</sup> as his *confrere* of wider repute), do not for a moment hesitate to answer my initial question very positively.

The joint enunciation of the Darwin-Wallace theory took place nearly forty years ago, and we have lamented the loss of Charles Darwin now for fifteen years; but at the last meeting of the Linnæan Society's last summer session the survivor of the great biological twins read a highly interesting paper which clearly and unmistakably expressed his answer to the question. The maker of a species—of all species of all and every kind—is and must always be, he said, "utility" and nothing but "utility." The title of his paper was: "The Problem of Utility—Are Specific Characters Always or Generally Useful?"

One most remarkable feature of this paper was its extreme dogmatism! Dr. Wallace affirmed that, *even in the absence of all evidence* of the utility of specific characters, we MUST none the less affirm their necessary utility, and that it is only through such utility that they *could* have ever come into existence!

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<sup>1</sup> On the 30th of June, 1858.



It was very interesting to listen to the venerable zoologist who, after the lapse of more than a generation, was thus able to return to the scene of the promulgation of his theory, amidst wonder and opposition, in order to reassert it to an audience almost entirely acquiescent. And it was a "reassertion," because a declaration that all specific characters have been produced by "utility" is simply the reassertion of his original theory. For, if any specific characters are not useful ones, either for saving life or gaining a mate, then the species constituted by such characters can never have been produced by "Natural Selection." But the author, in treating the question, took for granted, as he might naturally be expected to do, the truth of the doctrine common to him and the late Mr. Darwin. So the question was implicitly answered at once; since, if species arise by "Natural Selection," then those characters which serve to characterize any kind of animal *as* a species must be due to the same cause, *i.e.*, to utility.

Thus the question which was really raised by Dr. Wallace in asking, "Are specific characters always or generally useful?" was really but a repetition of the old one, of thirty-nine years ago, "Do species arise through 'Natural Selection'?"

To do our best to answer this question from the pure standpoint of physical science, we have the advantage of citing some novel and interesting facts, though we must not on this account lose sight of important arguments which we have before brought forward—arguments which have never been replied to or duly noticed, owing, probably, to that very prejudice to which we referred in the opening passage of this article.

That there really is such a thing as "Natural Selection" (*i.e.*, that the destructive forces of nature eliminate individuals least able to endure them), and that it acts to a certain extent, is, for us, an obvious fact, and it was evident long ago to the Greek predecessors of Aristotle. Nevertheless, there are a number of biological facts, too often and generally ignored, which demonstrate that many specific characters are due not to "Natural Selection," *i.e.*, to "Utility," but to what for us is evident, an innate tendency towards variation in a definite direction. If, however, amongst our readers are any minds prejudiced against the very idea of anything "innate," it will suffice to affirm that such specific characters are due not to the "utility" of them, but to an X power.

In that great and wonderful island, New Guinea, and in a few adjacent to it, there are to be found a number of kinds of very remarkable birds, not to be found anywhere else in the world. In

fact, the 100-fathom line round New Guinea accurately marks out the range of the birds we refer to. One curious fact is that the birds in question are near allies, zoologically speaking, of a group with which we are not accustomed to associate ideas of "beauty" any more than of melody, in spite of the fact that their throats contain apparently as perfect an apparatus of song as is to be found in that of the Nightingale or the Mocking-bird. They are, in fact, close allies of the Rooks and Crows, Jackdaws and Ravens; and yet, after those unrivalled living gems, the Humming-birds, I know none more beautiful than these transfigured Rooks and Crows, the Birds of Paradise. New species of them have been found quite lately—new forms which even exceed in the singularity of their beauty.

The Great Bird of Paradise (the species longest known) possesses a dense tuft of delicate plumes, sometimes two feet long, which come forth on each side of the body from beneath the wings. These tufts have for a very long time been made use of as an ornament for ladies' head-dresses. It is an inhabitant of the Aru Islands. A similar but smaller species is found in New Guinea, Mysol, and Salwatty.

The Red Bird of Paradise has its two middle tail-feathers charged with two stiff black riband-like structures a quarter of an inch wide. It is found nowhere but in Waigiou, a small island off the northwest end of New Guinea.

The King Bird of Paradise has an altogether differently developed plumage to that of the three foregoing birds. Its tail is short, save two feathers, while on each side of the breast are some short, broad, brightly-tipped feathers which can be spread out like a fan over either shoulder. The two middle tail-feathers are nearly six inches long and like delicate wires, save toward their ends, where they have on the inner side a most singular web in the form of a spiral disc. This species is widely distributed over New Guinea and the adjacent islands.

Quite different again is the form of the plumage of the other small bird known as the Magnificent Bird of Paradise.

Another bird, the Republican Bird of Paradise, a skin of which is in the Museum of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, has the top of its head bald and (when fresh) of a rich blue color.

One of the rarer Birds of Paradise is called "the Superb." It has over its breast a sort of shield formed of narrow and rather stiff feathers, and another much more extraordinary one, which springs from the back of the neck, the outer sides of which shield are actually larger than the wing.

Another anomaly is presented us by the Six-shafted Bird of Paradise, which has six wonderful feathers, six inches long, which spring from the sides of the head and are like delicate wires with a small oval disc at the extremity of each. It has also a great tuft of soft feathers on either side of the breast.

Yet another kind named after Dr. Wallace, who discovered it in the island of Batchian, has a quite unique structure in the form of a pair of long narrow white feathers which spring from the bend of each wing—a structure unlike any other known to us in the whole class of birds. The Twelve-wired Bird of Paradise is so called because on either side of the body it has six feathers, each like a slender black wire, bent almost at right angles about its middle and ending in a point without any web—a most extraordinary and fantastic ornament amongst those of this singularly polymorphic group of birds.

Lastly it will suffice for the present purpose to refer to the Long-tailed Bird of Paradise which by the structure of its tail, even more by its upstanding lateral plumes, exhibits a special structure of its own.

In this remarkable group of birds we find their exceptional abnormalities of plumage so different in different species that they could never have sprung from a common origin—from one parent abnormality—but they must have arisen independently in different modes in different species. Evidently in the whole of the individual organisms which together compose the group of Birds of Paradise there must have been an innate, latent tendency to develop a special abundance of plumage, different in both form and locality in different species.

Dr. Wallace said: "Accessory plumes and other ornaments originate at points of great nervous and muscular excitation." But the points of origin of abnormalities of plumage in these birds are so numerous and diverse that such local excitations seem a very inadequate cause to account for them. Yet even if they were adequate, what would account for such varied localities of excitation in this particular group of birds alone?

But Dr. Wallace affirmed that such characters were utilized "for purposes of recognition, . . . each ornament being really a 'recognition mark,' and therefore essential to both the first production and subsequent well-being of every species."

Let us suppose that a certain group of birds (A) have begun to vary in such a way that the males have acquired incipient secondary sexual markings or growths in their plumage, and that another group of birds (B) have begun to vary so that new tints, or



plumage growths, appear equally in both sexes. The change must be small at first, and, indeed, Dr. Wallace said "the transition" is an "almost imperceptible process." But that influence can, at the same time, induce the males of the group (A) to seek for females, freshly modified but different from themselves, and the males of the group (B) to seek for females freshly modified but like themselves.

And why should individuals with only incipient modifications object to mate with individuals of the hardly different parent stock? Yet if they did not so object in a majority of cases the new variety would soon disappear. Dr. Wallace declared that such marks must have been specially needed during the earlier stages of differentiation. Yet at such "earlier stages" the much-needed (according to Dr. Wallace) "recognition marks" must have been at their minimum. An innate spontaneous impulse of this kind—an impulse on the part of individuals *incipiently* varying to breed together *exclusively*, is surely a very mysterious impulse. The causation of such a mysterious *quasi* voluntary mode of action must be a *sine qua non* for the origin of species. But the origin of this impulse is as mysterious as the origin of species itself! To explain a mystery by another mystery not less mysterious than the first is a proceeding as unscientific as it is unsatisfactory.

Dr. Wallace stoutly maintains that the action of no other agency than "Natural Selection" is credible, because it is imaginable that specific characters which are now useless may have once been useful in unknown ways to unknown ancestors of existing species.

It is difficult to tackle such an assumption, and yet we are sure it can be tackled, and successfully tackled, could we only obtain an unprejudiced hearing for facts we have to bring forward and will bring forward very shortly.

Dr. Wallace, in his paper here referred to, affirmed that "no other agency" than "Natural Selection" has been brought distinctly forward and shown to be a probable cause of specific characters—and therefore of species. Possibly not. But if an asserted cause (X) has been shown to be incapable of producing a certain effect, it is no use to say: "It must be (X) because you have not brought forward any definite (not X) as efficient to produce that effect." Surely it amply suffices to reply: "The cause you assert is insufficient; we must therefore still remain in an attitude of doubt and expectancy with respect to the phenomena in question."

There is, however, another group of birds besides the Birds of

Paradise to which attention has recently been called.<sup>1</sup> This is a considerable group of small-sized Fruit-Pigeons, which range from the Malay Peninsula, through the Malay Archipelago, to Australia and Polynesia. The group is so large that it is subdivided, and one of these (named *Ptilopus*, in the most restricted sense of that term, which in a wide sense is also applied to the whole group) contains twenty-two species, of which no less than thirteen are found isolated from other species each on its own island or small groups of islands.

Thus the species *P. pelewensis* is found only in the Pelew Islands. *P. roseicapillus* is confined to the Ladrões. *P. ponapensis* and *P. herusheimi* are both found in the Caroline Islands, and yet only in different ones; the former only in Rock Island and the latter in Kushai. *P. purpuratus* and *P. chrysogaïtes* both belong to the Society Islands, but to different ones; while other species belong respectively to the Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, the Marquesas, and so on.

Now, as Captain Hutton says (p. 333), it is highly improbable that all these thirteen species were first developed on other islands where now they are not to be found. It is no less improbable that other species of this section of the Fruit-Pigeons formerly lived on each of these thirteen islands, and have become extinct on all of them. If it had been a single case only, we might have had some doubt; but when it comes to having to apply the same explanation to more than half of the whole number of species, the process surely becomes absurd. Consequently, it appears almost certain that most of these species were developed each on its own island; and, this being allowed, we have the problem of the origin of their specific characters reduced to its simplest form.

If these species originated in the islands in which they are found, the colors which distinguish them cannot be recognition marks, because there is no other species in each island with which they could be confounded. The colors cannot be due to correlation, because they are the only characters which have changed. They cannot have been useful to ancestors, because they have only lately been developed. And we cannot suppose that they give any special advantage in each island, because all the islands have, for practical purposes, the same flora and fauna. This exhausts the resources of the principle of utility, and we are driven to the conclusion that these specific characters have a non-utilitarian origin; and yet they are found "in every individual constituting the

<sup>1</sup> By Captain F. W. Hutton, F.R.S. See the *Journal of the Linnean Society* (Zoology), vol. xxvi., No. 168 (November 1, 1897), p. 330.

species, neither more nor less." In these opinions we are entirely at one with Captain Hutton; and we further agree with him in affirming that whether we can discover the cause of these developments or not, there is an overwhelming probability in favor of the statement that these truly specific characters have had a non-utilitarian origin.

But the colors and markings which constitute the specific characters of these Fruit-Pigeons have not had a utilitarian origin; surely it is quite probable that the specific characters of many, most or all other species have not had a utilitarian origin either!

It therefore follows, as an absolute certainty, that recognition marks and specific characters are not necessarily developed through utility; therefore, that utility does not make a species, or, in other words, that the origin of species is not and cannot be due to "Natural Selection," however much the destructive agencies of nature may facilitate or hasten that origin.

There is yet a third group of birds to which I will here refer, and to which I would specially invite the reader's attention, because it is a group of beautiful species of which I myself have made a very special study.<sup>1</sup>

The group in question is made up of the Parrots which compose the family *Loriidæ* (seventy-five species), which have mostly brilliant plumage, and which vary in size from about that of a Turtle Dove down to about that of a Sparrow. They form rather less than one-sixth of the whole order of Parrots. They are very choice feeders, living on the nectar and pollen of flowers, and very largely on the blossoms of *Eucalypti* and coral trees.

When such trees are in flower, Lories may be seen in large flocks clinging to the smaller branches in every attitude possible to them, and when they have exhausted the supply to be obtained at one spot they will fly off rapidly with shrill screams to other trees as yet unrifled of their nectar. So intent are they, while feeding, on their occupation that they may then be closely approached, and even the firing of a gun from beneath, though fatal to individuals, has been known not to disturb their uninjured neighbors.

Their plumage is almost always a mixture of green, purple (or

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<sup>1</sup> See my work, *A Monograph of the Lories or Brush-tongued Parrots Composing the Family Loriidæ*, London, R. H. Porter, 7 Princes Street, Cavendish Square, W., 1896. With LXI. plates, drawn and colored from nature, representing 22 typical specimens, and 16 species, represented for the first time, an anatomical introduction with 19 figures, and 4 plates of geographical distribution.



blue) and red, often of all three, while yellow is frequently also present. Sometimes the whole body is green of one or more shades, while the plumage may be all red, or, in two instances only, blue and white. The tail is generally short, and may be nearly square, but in rare instances the two middle tail-feathers may be very prolonged.

The tongue is very remarkable, the papillæ on its upper surface laterally and towards the apex being much elongated and bent more or less backwards, so as to form a kind of brush, which must be useful in extracting the nectar and pollen of flowers. Such is the structure of the tongue in all these species the tongue of which has been examined.

It is the geographical distribution of certain species, however, which is of special interest to us. The Lories do not extend beyond  $10^{\circ}$  N. and  $45^{\circ}$  S. latitude or west of  $115^{\circ}$  E. longitude or east of  $145^{\circ}$  W. longitude (English reckoning). Their extreme northern habitats consist of the Caroline, Washington and Fanning Islands; their furthest extension south is to Tasmania; their most western dwelling-place is the island of Sumbawa; while their extreme limit eastward is formed by the Marquesas Islands.

New Guinea, with the islands of Geelvink Bay, is the region richest in Lories, having no less than thirty-one species.

Of a small section of the group—the Black-billed Lories (*Chalcospittacus*)—one species, almost entirely black, is found in New Guinea, but a closely-allied form, known as Berstem's Lory, which (so far as yet known) is confined to the island of Mysol, has there acquired a red edge to its otherwise black forehead. The utility of this specific character may indeed be deemed problematical. Certainly it can be no recognition mark, since the general blackness of the body alone constitutes a complete and ample distinction from the three other Lories which alone inhabit Mysol. Another species, however—the "Red-quilled Lory"—which has so far only been found in the small island Amberpon, has the under surface of the wings and tail with bright red or red and yellow tints. This is the more remarkable because we have up to this time no evidence that any other Lory is an inhabitant of Amberpon Island.

The islands in Geelvink Bay seem to be the only home of the Black-winged Lory, a very distinctly-marked species with its black shoulders and bright blue spot at the side of the head. Similarly the Blue-streaked Lory hails from the Tenunber Islands and Timor Laut, while in the former no other Lory is to be found save the one (termed "plain"), the simple green plumage of which

renders the elaborate markings of the Blue-streaked Lory quite needless as recognition signs.

Very much more striking, however, is the fact that the very exceptional species, named "the Cherry-red Lory," is confined to the small island Puyuepet, one of the Caroline Islands. Its remarkable coloration cannot be needed to enable the sexes to recognize each other, for no other species of Lory exists (so far as yet known) in this group of islands.

Similarly the two species of Notched-winged Lories each dwells in a habitat which no other kind of Lory shares. One of these, the "Fringilline Lory," is found in Samoa and the Friendly Islands, and the other, "Kuhl's Lory," as exclusively in the Washington and Fanning Islands.

Most remarkable of all, however, is the extremely exceptional distribution of the most exceptionally colored of all Lories, namely, the "Blue Lories."

The first of these, of a beautiful azure tint, which was known and described by Buffon in 1779, is called the "Tahiti Lory." As its name implies, it is found in the Society Islands, and is the only Lory there found. The other species, the "Ultramarine Lory," is the only one inhabiting the Marquesas Islands, which is also the only portion of the globe where it is to be found.

The blue coloration of both, the white throat of the Tahiti Lory and the white spots of the other, cannot be "recognition marks." Neither is it conceivable that the surrounding conditions of environment in either the Society or Marquesas can have educed the blue color of these species, or that those of the Caroline Islands can have elicited the uniform tint of the cherry-red Lory.

As Captain Hutton well observes in the paper hereinbefore referred to, recognition marks can be useful only among those animals which are capable of recognizing them by their senses. But in some blind animals color constitutes a specific character, as in bivalve shell-fish (*Lamellibranchus*). Even with animals possessing eyes there are some specific characters which cannot be regarded as recognition marks, for they cannot be seen, as the teeth of the so-called "tongue" of snail-like creatures (*Gasteropods*). The venation, *i.e.*, the arrangement of the so-called "veins," of the wings of Butterflies and Moths is hidden by the scales which clothe them, and yet it often furnishes good generic and sometimes specific characters; occasionally even the venation differs in the two sexes. Some crabs are always covered with sea-weeds, and the species cannot be ascertained till these sea-weeds have been removed.

Many species of orthopterous insects (such as cockroaches, grasshoppers and locusts) differ from each other in the number or position of the spines on the legs, and no one will suppose that the male of one of these insects stops to count the number of spines on the legs of a female before making love to her, or that the female does so as to his spines before accepting him.

Can we suppose that the colors which distinguish the shells of the different species of *Tellina*, which live in sand, have been developed by "utility"? Can we suppose that a spine more or less, or a different arrangement of the tubercles, on the carapace of a crab has been so formed either? Can it matter in the struggle for life whether a vein in the wing of an insect branches once or twice; or can slight differences in the number or position of the spines on the legs give an individual insect an advantage over another? Can we, again, suppose that the slight differences in the number and shape of the teeth of snail-like animals, or whether they have ten or twenty ribs to the tenth of an inch on their shells, are important for life? Yet they are often good and constant specific characters. Let us consider the shape of the spicules of sponges, or the skeletons of Radiolarians, or the small differences in the leaves of ferns and mosses, or the various ornamentations on the frontales of Diatoms. Can all or any of these characters—which are certainly as stable as specific characters which are acknowledged to be useful—can any of them be explained by the principle of utility? If such is the case, which, among two or more species living together, is best adapted to the conditions, and which the worst? And why has not the worst died out? Take, for example, the different colors and shapes of the shells of Mussels (*Mytilus*), two or more species of which often live together under exactly the same conditions; if one color or shape is more advantageous than the others, why are the others there? We cannot plead want of time, for many of these species date back to the Pliocene period. Suggestions that it might be this or might be that are not worth consideration when we find that effects which, according to them, ought to have been produced have not been produced, and when species are equally abundant which have and which have not some character thus hypothetically deemed useful.

As examples of the gratuitous hypotheses which men like Dr. Wallace are ever ready to suggest, we may take the following. On its being suggested that a rabbit's white tail, instead of a useful appendage, must be a dangerous one as attracting the eyes of an enemy, he replied, "It has been created by utility because, in



cases of danger, it serves to guide the young to their dam and therefore to their burrow." The spots over dogs' eyes are also, according to him, due to utility, because, he tells us, they delude onlookers into the belief that a dog is awake when, in fact, he is fast asleep.

But the fact seems to us to be simply undeniable that different groups of creatures have different innate tendencies to develop in certain definite directions, as we have seen reason to believe that the groups of Birds of Paradise have a tendency to develop redundant plumage now in one region of the body and now in another region.

In the great group of Marsupial or pouched animals, whereof the Virginian Opossum may be taken as a type, we find a series of species in which a certain portion of the bodily frame becomes more and more diminished. These species constitute a section of the Marsupials which inhabit Australia. One of them has a squat body, somewhat like that of a Marmot, and is a burrowing animal. Each hind foot has five toes, whereof the second and third are very slightly shorter than the others and somewhat further bound together by the skin. But this minute difference cannot be supposed to be of very vital importance to the Wombat. In another group of Australian Marsupials, however, the Phalangiers, this difference is a little more marked, and when we examine the structure of the foot in a third group, that of the Bandicoots, it becomes much more so. In the Kangaroos we find this character present in an extremely marked degree. Each hind foot has two large and conspicuous toes of unequal size, the inner one being very large, with a very big and sharp claw. On the inner side of this large toe is what at first sight appears to be a very minute one, furnished with two claws placed side by side. An examination of the bones of the foot, however, shows that this apparently two-clawed toe really consists of two very slender toes bound together in a common fold of skin, and these answer to those two toes which are very slightly shorter than the others in the Wombat.

Thus we have here a characteristic and progressive determination of a part which must have been due to an innate tendency, since its incipient stage, as we find it in the Wombat, could not have been developed through utility and the struggle for life.

There is another interesting group of animals which exhibit an analogous condition with regard to the hand, a condition which culminates in a structure which no one has, or can pretend, to have been due to either natural or sexual selection.

There is a group (*genus*) of animals which inhabit Madagascar which are known as "Lemurs." They are creatures mostly about the size of a cat, with sharp-pointed muzzles and long tails, which, like their bodies, are well clothed with hair. Their legs are not much longer than their arms, while each extremity is modified to serve as a hand, the great toe as well as the thumb being opposite to the other digits. Their hands and feet are thus like those of monkeys, with which they were long associated in zoological classification, though in reality they seem to have no special affinity whatever with the monkey tribe. There are a number of groups (*genera*) of animals which more or less closely resemble these Madagascar Lemurs, and they have, therefore, become known as Lemur-like<sup>1</sup> animals. Some of the genera thus allied to the genus *Lemur* are also found in Madagascar, but a few exist in Africa, and also in Southeastern Asia.

Among the Lemur-like animals there are four genera which we may distinguish from the others as slow-lemuroids, because they are rather sluggish animals and singularly deliberate in their movements. They are all about the size of a squirrel or a little larger, their limbs are of equal length, and their tail is, at most, but a short one. None of them are found in Madagascar, but two are Asiatic and two African. Of the two inhabiting Asia (in the India region) one is known as the Slender Loris, for it is exceedingly slender in build, and has not even a rudiment of a tail. It inhabits Southern India and Ceylon, and is regarded by the natives as a remedy for ophthalmia, on which account it is sold in the bazaars of Madras. The second Indian kind is a stouter animal, and is found in Cochin China, Sumatra and Borneo.

Of the two African kinds one is known as the Angwautibo, and inhabits Old Calabar, and was first described in 1863. The other African kind was discovered by the traveller Bosman during his voyage to Guinea, and was first made known in 1705. After that, it was not again seen by a European for twenty years, nor was it ever fully described till 1830.

Now the special point to which we desire to direct the reader's attention is the structure of the joints, or index finger of the hand.

In the true Lemurs of Madagascar that finger is already slightly shorter than the others, and this is a common feature in Lemur-like animals. When, however, we come to the Slow-lemurs this

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<sup>1</sup> The author of the present paper was the first to propose this arrangement in a paper read before the Zoological Society of London on November 22, 1864, pp. 635-637.

shrinking of the index becomes progressively more marked, until, in the Angwautibo, the first finger is reduced to a mere rudiment. In the Potto, however, the reduction is most complete, for it has no index finger at all.

This peculiarity of the Potto appears to us to afford nothing less than an absolute demonstration that it is not "utility" which "makes species." For who can believe that the circumstance of not having an index finger ever saved the life of a single Potto? As to sexual selection, who again can believe that even one male Potto ever gained a mate through such a defect? Is it credible that when a male Potto makes an offer of his hand to the female of his choice, she habitually looks carefully to see if her suitor has a rudiment of an index finger, and would certainly reject him with scorn and disgust, could he not proffer a hand entirely devoid of a feature so offensive to her susceptibilities?

But what other reason can possibly be assigned by the school of Dr. Wallace as a cause for this progressive atrophy of the index amongst Lemuroids, and for the special distinguishing character of the species Potto?

"Oh!" some will reply, "It is not due to natural or sexual selection directly, but only indirectly; it is a character correlated with some other character which *is* due to one or other of these kinds of selection."

But certainly no one can even pretend to be aware of any useful character thus varying concomitantly with the development of the index finger. As for any unknown character, anatomical or physiological, it would surely be nothing less than monstrous to assume that some unascertained anatomical condition of the liver or kidney, or some diminished or increased function, *e.g.*, of secretion—was the real cause of such a specific character, where-with the size of the first finger was correlated in some quite unknown and quite unimaginable manner.

A survey of the organic world cannot be a complete or scientific one, if the characteristics of the highest of animals (man) be left out of the account, nor can man be said to be treated scientifically if his highest characteristics, his mental endowments, are not taken into consideration as well as his mere animal faculties and organization.

Now as to the latter, man's body shows a curious analogy (when taken into consideration together with the structure of apes) with the Potto as becoming the vanishing points of a progressively decreasing structure. In many mammals there is a well-developed penial bone, and such a structure is well developed



in the ordinary Apes. When we come to the man-like or Anthropoid Apes, we find it becomes smaller and smaller, till it was, for a time, believed to be entirely absent in the Chimpanzee. It exists, however, at least in a rudimentary condition, in all the Anthropoids. Yet in man it has, at least normally, entirely disappeared, and yet it is impossible to suppose that its progressive disappearance has been progressively useful as regards any form of "Natural Selection." This absence is, as in the case of the Potto, merely the culmination of a tendency latent in the group which comprises men and apes—in the order Primates.

But it is not the body but the mind of man which constitutes his essentially distinctive character. We have so frequently and fully urged the impossibility of his highest mental faculties having been formed by "Natural Selection" that we forbear to repeat our arguments here, which is the less necessary as they have been never answered, still less refuted.

But we desire in this connection to call attention to one very curious fact. *Mirabile dictu*, Dr. Wallace himself holds that these most important characters of the human species are the results of "Natural Selection," but are due to the intervention of some conscious intelligence or intelligencies (for Dr. Wallace remains a Spiritualist) who, according to him, have acted on man much as the celebrated Sir John Sibright acted on the development of pigeons.

Therefore against Dr. Wallace we have a triumphant *argumentum ad hominem*. But as I have not here entered upon the distinctiveness of the human intellect, I am content to rest my opposition to the doctrine that "utility makes species" on the various facts I have brought forward about birds and beasts, and especially on the specific characters of that small beast, the Potto. Other instances, not here set down, could also be brought forward, but logically one suffices: "*Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*."

In one instance (our own) we see that Dr. Wallace gives up the matter. But therein he really concedes the whole question, for if one species is the outcome of such intelligence, why not all? And surely nature abounds, on every side, with phenomena which "Natural Selection" is impotent to account for. The colors and markings of flowers have been attributed to insect agency, yet no such agency will serve to account for the markings on foliage-leaves.

But, however, flower streaks can never be so accounted for. It suffices to contemplate the delicate divergent streaks on the lowest petal of some pansies—so beautifully symmetrical in their

dichotomous divisions—to be sure that the cause thus assigned is ludicrously inadequate. It is as inadequate as such a cause can be for the minute markings on shells and the pustules of Diatoms.

Moreover, can anything be more unreasonable than to judge as to the cause that has produced the various species which constitute the *organic* world without taking account of the various mineral species belonging to the inorganic world? This is the more remarkable since, but for the powers and processes of inorganic substances, no living creature could ever have existed! But what has “Natural Selection” had to do with the symmetry, no less definite than multiform, of crystals? Did “sexual selection” or any kind of “utility” produce the glorious tints (rivaling those of the breasts and heads of humming-birds) which mineralogical galleries have to show? Yet the mystery of these phenomena is essentially the same as those to be found amongst animals and plants. If the former are due to an agency which is unknown and unimaginable, why may not that agency also be the cause of such of the latter as “Natural Selection” has been called in to explain?

But here some of those we are addressing will feel themselves unable to accord an impartial consideration to the arguments here advanced, because they fear that our arguments imply a theological explanation as to “what makes a species.” But if they will with candor examine our words they will see that they accord with any explanation which may commend itself to their minds so long as it is not a mechanical one. If they are really pagans and will have nothing but Pan, or if they can accept nothing more than “a soul in nature,” we have nothing here to say on such a subject. All we say, and say most earnestly, is: “Consider and weigh the *facts*. Do not allow, as many do, your intellect to be fettered by your imagination. Do not, because, if the all-sufficiency of mechanism be denied, anthropomorphic images arise in your mind which your intellect tells you are absurd, do not on that account shrink from decrying the sufficiency of mechanism. Such images are not at all necessarily connected with the intellectual perception of the inadequacy of a mechanical idea of nature. Indeed, with the perceptions and conceptions here advocated, such mental images have really as little to do as have the signs of the zodiac with the origin of the solar system. In studying science be really scientific, and do not allow yourselves to disregard facts, being blinded to their reality by a sort of “anti-theological ophthalmia!”

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

## THE RELATIONS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH WITH THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA.

FROM the advent of Europeans in North America, and during the formation and extension of their original colonies, their progress was opposed during two centuries or more by the Indian owners of the soil.

The American Indian nations comprised some whose people were not without intelligence ; while in the territory between the Atlantic Ocean and the head waters of Lake Superior there were confederacies of nations of somewhat remote origin, having well devised systems of government and unwritten laws suitable for a nomadic people living in tribal organizations and having no written language.

The Catholic Church sought to convert the indigenous races from Paganism to Christianity as a preliminary work in colonization.

In the American history of the sixteenth century, that portion of the present domain of the United States extending from Florida westward, along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and thence to California and the Pacific coast, is made interesting by the narratives of the respective missions undertaken by the Dominican, the Franciscan and the Jesuit orders, for the evangelization of the wild Indian tribes inhabiting the coast regions and the inland plains of this extensive territory. The locals of these missions are well known, while their record is crimsoned with the blood of many martyred priests.

That this blood was not shed in vain, that the seed of Christianity sown in the soil which it sanctified took deep root, is evidenced by the fact that after three centuries the descendants of the original Indian races are still numerous, and they are solidly Catholic.

A majority of the indigenous race in Arizona, in Lower California and in Nevada are Catholic ; while nearly all the inhabitants of New Mexico, whether of Indian or of mixed blood, have clung to the faith to which they were won by Catholic missionaries under Spanish auspices during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For the present status of the Catholic religion in the States named and in New Mexico see "Eleventh Census of U. S.," Plate 11, page 41.



But, has this period in the history of North America been treated by the generality of American historians in that impartial manner which would give prominence to the humanitarian work of the Catholic Church?

Her missionaries succeeded in this beneficent work in the southern extremity of the North American Continent, including Mexico and Central America, during the same period. The indigenous races were, to a great extent, converted to Christianity; they were not obliterated, as they have been elsewhere by the Europeans. It is stated that the descendants of these Indian converts in this part of North America, now living within the fold of the Catholic Church, number several million souls.

With many intelligent people American history begins with the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on "Plymouth Rock." But from this standpoint the genesis of North American civilization is left in the background.

When the Pilgrims landed on "Plymouth Rock" the New England territory was governed by the Sachems of the Pequots, of the Narragansetts, of the Wampanoags, of the Massachusetts, and of the Pawtucket nations, who, by right of conquest, had acquired control over the thirty-two nations inhabiting the soil, whom they had governed for a century or more.

These five sachems were at first inclined to tolerate the presence of the white intruders, for such they were, upon their respective domains; but the aggressive and murderous proceedings of the latter aroused hostility and provoked retribution according to the Indian cult, with fatal consequences to the aggressors. Then ensued the successive Indian wars. The worst instincts of the American savage in the pursuit of revenge having been aroused, the war-club, the tomahawk, the scalping-knife, and the torch in the midnight raid were prolific of barbarous atrocities.

A malignant hatred of the red man became the second nature of the Puritan; the heathen savage, as he was considered, whether friend or foe, fell victim to his wrath.

During intervals of peace John Eliot and his associates sought to convert the Massachusetts Indians to Christianity.

He met with some success, and gathered a little colony of his converts in the vicinity of Boston; but his beneficent work was distasteful to the majority of the Puritans, and neutralized by the fierce hatred of this people for the Indian race.

Many of the converts had been induced to abandon their homes in the forest and to live in community at Natic, where they cultivated the soil, but their situation at times became so hazardous that the colony was eventually broken up.

A war of extermination finally ensued, during which the sachems, one after another, after a valorous resistance, were overcome. The unfortunate people of the tribes did not expatriate themselves; but chiefs, warriors, old men, women and children sought a last refuge in the unexplored forest, where many were either hunted down and killed or met death by starvation. Fragments only of the tribes remained near the settlements after the power of their sachems had been broken.

All the efforts of John Eliot and of his successors to save the New England Indians did not prevent their extinction.

New England's civilization may be charged with the crime of wiping out of existence the people of thirty-two distinct Indian nations, who were inhabitants of its soil when the Pilgrims landed on "Plymouth Rock."<sup>1</sup>

The work of destruction was so complete that it is declared by competent authority that not a full-blood New England Indian exists at the present day; nor are there any half-bloods.

The numerous Indian names of cities and towns remind of the sway of sachems and chiefs who in a former century were rulers of all the territory comprising the present New England States.

This, however, if intended as a tribute to valor and true patriotism, is but just; for the sachems and chiefs whose memory is thus commemorated fought heroically, and offered their life's blood in defence of their fatherland.

But before John Eliot had preached to the Massachusetts Indians near Boston, in 1646, Catholic missionaries from France had evangelized the Abnakis in Maine, the Micmacs in New Brunswick and in Nova Scotia, and the Montagnais in Canada.

This was two hundred and fifty years or more ago. While the New England Indians have long since disappeared from the face of the earth, there are four thousand or more Micmacs who are descendants of the original converts living at the present day in the British Provinces named above, in comfortable homes and in thrifty circumstances, who are solidly Catholic, having churches and schools, and whose members are gradually increasing; while there are in the aggregate half this number of Abnakis and Montagnais, whose ancestors were converted at the same early period, living under equally favorable conditions in Canada, who are steadfast and practical Catholics.<sup>2</sup> It may be claimed that this is a bright chapter in the history of civilization in North America.

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<sup>1</sup> See "Indian Bibliographies," *AM. CATH. QUAR. REVIEW*, vol. xx., page 238.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, Dominion of Canada, 1893.

Anterior to the New England missions of John Eliot was the conversion, principally by French Jesuits, of the Indian tribes of Huronia, whose domain extended from the shores of the Georgian Bay inland to its national boundary.

The Hurons were of Iroquoian stock ; their language and tribal laws were somewhat similar to those of the people of the Confederacy of the Five Nations, and they were among the *élite* of the North American Indians.

Huronia finally became a Christian country ; but while in the enjoyment of her halcyon repose her cantons were invaded by an Iroquoian army, composed principally of Mohawks and Senecas, who overcame her valiant defenders, captured her forts, burnt and desecrated her chapels, and applied the torch to the homes of her people. Many were killed on both sides, for the fighting was desperate.<sup>1</sup>

The destruction of Huron autonomy was completed by the dispersion of the tribes, whose people sought a refuge on the adjacent shores of the bays and islands.

In all its details the destruction of Christian Huronia forms one of the most lurid chapters of internecine American-Indian war. It is, moreover, a sad chapter in the history of American civilization.<sup>2</sup>

The cause of the invasion and destruction of Huronia was the undying hatred of the invaders towards the Hurons, which had existed since the expulsion of the tribes of the Five Nations from the Island of Hochelaga by the Hurons in the fifteenth century, and the hegira of the tribes of the former from their homes on the St. Lawrence, when they built their cantons in the "Country of the Lakes" of New York.

The destruction of Huronia, however, had a providential sequel. Many of the unfortunate Hurons were led captives to the Iroquoian cantons in New York, but more specially to those of the Mohawks and of the Senecas.

The flower of the Iroquoian warriors had been decimated by the casualties of the wars which had existed, and which were continuous. Mothers mourned for husbands and sons who had gone on the war-path and who had never returned to their homes. The widows claimed the unfortunate Huron captives, as was their right ; they took them to their cabins, healed their wounds, and clothed and fed them. As these unfortunates spoke the Iroquoian language, social intercourse was easily established. The

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<sup>1</sup> Fathers Brebauf and Daniel would not desert their neophytes and were burned at the stake.

<sup>2</sup> See Bressani, *Brève Relations*, etc.



exiles became husbands and fathers, while the new blood introduced in this manner into the Iroquoian families proved to be of great advantage to the standard of the race.

The system of tribal composition and of national law of the Iroquoian Confederacy was probably the most unique ever devised for human government; it had at the time existed unchanged during two centuries. By its provisions aliens were admitted into the tribes, who, when formally naturalized, were vested with tribal and civil rights. Under this system Huron Christians became adopted members of Iroquoian tribes. Most of the exiles had remained Christians; those domiciled in Mohawk families, being the most numerous, were the first to feel the need of pastoral advice and sacramental fortification. They demanded that a missionary from Canada be brought to the Mohawk cantons. This demand was continued until the Mohawk sachems, ceding to their prayer, sent a delegation to Quebec to solicit a missionary. In the meantime the Jesuit Father, Isaac Jogues, had been a captive in the Mohawk cantons, but he had escaped to Albany. The Dutch Governor humanely assisted him to reach New York, whence he was kindly provided with passage to Europe, and he eventually returned to his brethren in Canada. He was at Quebec when the Mohawk delegation arrived. The Governor-General declined to grant the request of the Mohawk sachems, but he referred their delegates to the Father Superior of the Jesuits at Quebec, who decided to send Father Jogues with a lay brother, René Goupil, to the Mohawk cantons. After the delegation had returned and reported the successful termination of their mission, the Huron Christians awaited with joy the arrival of the expected priest; but in the meantime the Mohawk council had declared war against the French, and while Father Jogues and his companion were on their way they were captured by a war party, brought to the Mohawk castle, tortured and put to death. This is a brief outline of the inception of Christianity into the cantons of the Iroquoian League of the "Country of the Lakes" of New York. It was first introduced by Huron Christian captives, who, when they became naturalized Iroquoians, demanded a priest, with the unfortunate results outlined.

The first French mission to the Iroquoians, of which Father Jogues was the apostle who, with his companion, suffered martyrdom, is known in religious annals as the "Mission of the Martyrs." But the Huron Christians, although saddened by their disappointment, did not despair. They renewed their request for a missionary repeatedly, until the sachems of the Mohawk nation finally

yielded. The Iroquoian League, as well as its five nations, had no war on hand. Peace prevailed.

The next delegation sent to Quebec to solicit a missionary succeeded so well that in a few months two priests of the Jesuit order arrived at the chief canton of the Mohawk nation. It was soon after developed that at the time there were more than a thousand naturalized Christians in the Iroquoian cantons from the Mohawk to the shores of Lake Erie. From these and other respective centres came the demands of the expatriated Christians to their sachems for Catholic missionaries. National pride was excited to secure in other nations what had been accorded the Mohawk nation.

Delegations followed in their turn to Quebec, until Catholic missions were finally established in each of the five nations of the Iroquoian League in the "Country of the Lakes" of New York.

The Iroquoian missionaries comprised some of the most distinguished scholars, members of the Society of Jesus, in North America. The missions they established were continuous until 1686, when the astute English Governor Dongan, of New York, who in 1684 had formed an alliance on the part of England with the Iroquoian League, stirred up hostility among the Pagan elements, and with a liberal supply of rum excited through his emissaries acts of violence against the priests and their converts.

The situation was peculiar. The opposition worked up against the missionaries was not in reality grounded on dislike of the Catholic faith, for Governor Dongan was a Catholic; but as an English governor he deemed it impolitic to have the *élite* of the Iroquoian people held under the spiritual direction of twenty or more brilliant French priests in that part of the country lying between the English and the French borders. It was in the political interest of England to control, by means of the treaty of alliance, the rulers of the Confederacy, which control could not be complete while the French missions existed. But the situation in other respects had become alarming to English prestige.

Several of the Iroquoian sachems and some distinguished chiefs had become converts, and were leading Christian lives. Chapels and schools had been erected in most of the cantons between the Mohawk Valley and Lake Erie, while in the chief cantons of the respective nations religious services were held as regularly as in Catholic communities. Sodalties of the Blessed Virgin for men and for women had been established, and the interesting spectacle might be witnessed of the warrior and the squaw on their knees, reciting the devotional prayers with the rosary beads. The

most distinguished of the converts was probably Ga-ra-con-tié, hereditary head sachem and virtually chief civil ruler of the Iroquoian Confederacy. He had asked for baptism, and the ceremony was performed in the Cathedral of Quebec by Bishop Laval with great solemnity and *éclat*, the Governor-General of New France acting as sponsor.

This missionary work had been accomplished during a period of thirty years, but not without violent opposition by the Pagan element, instigated by the sorcerers and medicine-men, which at times endangered the lives of the missionaries, and they were temporarily recalled. War was also the cause of frequent interruptions of missionary work.

In the early days of the Iroquoian missions Christian converts were so cruelly persecuted that a colony was formed at La Prairie, near Montreal, of Christian exiles; to this retreat, all through the missionary period, came many distinguished converts, who, on account of Pagan opposition in their respective communities, could not practise their religion in peace.

Some of the missionaries spent many years in the Iroquoian cantons—Father James Fremin about ten years; Fathers Julian Garnier, Stephen de Carheil and Peter Milet<sup>1</sup> fifteen years, in one or more localities, between the Mohawk and the Seneca nation. The most remarkable, perhaps, was the continuous residence during sixteen years of Father John de Lamberville at Onondaga, the capital of the Iroquoian Confederacy and the residence of the hereditary sachems who were the custodians of the archives of the Confederacy. There can be no question about the warm friendship which had existed between Father de Lamberville and the sachems at Onondaga, and it would seem reasonable that his counsel had been sought on many occasions by the sagacious and conservative rulers of this remarkable Indian Confederacy.<sup>2</sup>

Such was the Christian fabric which had been reared in the Iroquoian cantons by distinguished scholars and devoted priests. Sobriety had become the chief feature in Christian life; immorality was frowned down; women had been accorded respect, and were

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<sup>1</sup> Father Milet, who had lived so long in the Oneida canton, was subsequently captured and brought back to Oneida; he was about to be put to death, with the other French captives, when he was claimed by a venerable Oneida Christian woman, widow of a sachem. For ten years he lived in her cabin, for escape was impossible. He administered the last rites to French captives, and drew up their wills, which are still on file in Canada; he was highly esteemed by the Oneidas, over whom he exercised great influence. His career was very romantic.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the circumstances attending the exit of the venerable Father de Lamberville from Onondaga, see Charlevoix.



no longer the slaves of debauched and brutal masters. The Iroquoian people lived in comfortable homes and were comfortably clad.

The ingenious system of tribal laws caused no conflict with religious authority; crimes were rare indeed, while the innate principles of charity, honesty and hospitality inherent in the Iroquoians' nature were brightened by Christian influence.<sup>1</sup>

Every indication pointed to the ultimate conversion to Christianity of the people of the tribes of the Iroquoian Confederacy.

The League would have become a neutral Christian power, for the sachems were too wise to have made it otherwise.

All considerations of humanity for the welfare of the people of the Iroquoian Confederacy were ignored by Governor Dongan when he deliberately overturned the edifice of Christianity which had been reared at the cost of so many years of missionary labor.

It was a cold-blooded outrage, perpetrated to advance the political interests of England in America.

The progress of the civilization of the people of this great Indian Confederacy was indefinitely retarded, as its subsequent history proves.

But the Catholic faith among the Iroquoian people had taken deep root.

It was not destroyed by the wreck of the religious fabric which had been reared in the Iroquoian cantons during the seventeenth century. There are at the present day in Canada and across the boundary line of the Dominion, in the State of New York, more than four thousand Iroquoian Catholics. These, like the Micmacs and the Abnakis, are descendants of converts who had been won from Paganism during the seventeenth century.

During this same century, the vast regions extending from Lakes Huron and Michigan to the Pacific were explored by Catholic missionaries who discovered the Mississippi, and who established the Ottawa and the Illinois missions.

The history of these western missions extends through all the seventeenth century, and down to that period of the eighteenth century memorable in American history by the loss to France of her empire in the New World, which unfortunate event was followed soon after by the much deplored disruption of the great missionary and teaching order which had accomplished so

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<sup>1</sup> The Jesuit Fathers in the Iroquoian missions during the seventeenth century include Fathers Jogues, Bressani, Poncet, le Moyne, Chaumonot, Dablon, le Mercier, Ménard, Fremin, Ragueneau, Dupéron, Bruyas, Pierron, Garnier, de Carheil, Milet, Bechefer, Nicholas, Rafeix, Boniface, de Gueslis, John and James de Lamberville.

much for religion and science in Europe and for civilization in America.

The Illinois missions were made memorable in the history of American civilization by the martyrdom of the Recollet Fathers, Zenobius Membré and Gabriel de la Ribourde, during the last decades of the seventeenth century, and of the Jesuit, Father James Gravier, who, after more than twenty years of missionary and philological labor in Illinois, died from a wound received at Peoria in 1706. No record of the history of the American Empire in the Western States, of which Chicago has since become the capital and centre, can be written without paying tribute to the memory of Fathers Claude Allonez and James Marquette; the former especially for his missionary work, and the latter for his discovery of the Mississippi, which has connected his name for all time with renowned Jesuit explorers in America.

The history of the Illinois missions extends from 1673 down to 1778; they became extinct by the death of the venerable Jesuit, Father Sebastian L. Meurin, philologist and missionary, who was among the thirteen of his order in North America in 1774 when Bishop Briand, at Quebec, was inhibited by Governor Carlton from promulgating the Papal edict for the suppression of the Society of Jesus.

The Ottawa missions commenced in 1642 with the planting of the cross for the first time, probably, on Michigan soil, by the Jesuit Fathers Isaac Jogues and Charles Raymbaut, at the wild rapids near the foot of Lake Superior where the slight overflow of its mighty waters, rushing in mad disorder over rocks and boulders into a river some feet below its level, creates a cataract surpassed, probably, in wild grandeur, only by Niagara, in whose torrent mingle the waters of Lake Superior. These venerable priests, awe-struck at this grand display of the torrent, gave it the name of the *Sault de Saint Marie*. They had already, in ascending the stream through which the overflow of Lake Superior descends into Lake Huron, named the river in honor of the mother of our Saviour, to whose rude source they gave the name above written, everlastingly memorable in Western history.

Neither the Illinois nor the Ottawa missions were without their attending scenes of martyrdom, as horribly cruel, perhaps, as were those which memorize the tragic events preceding the establishment of the Iroquoian missions. The Ottawas were the *élite* of the Western Indian nations. They were tall, adonic to perfection, with black hair and eyes, and great athletes.

This noble race of Indians had their homes principally on the

littoral of the upper portion of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan, extending to the fair and prolific regions of the Grand River valley and on the islands in the contiguous waters of Lakes Huron and Michigan.

The headquarters of the Ottawa missions had been established at Michilimacinac, the Indian name of the northern headland of the Lower Peninsula ; around this point mingle the waters of Lakes Huron and Michigan, forming what in modern times is geographically known as the Straits of Mackinaw. In the distance may be seen the picturesque islands in both lakes.

This locality, which connects so closely with the missionary history of a former century, is another evidence of the æsthetic quality the French Jesuit missionary fathers displayed when selecting their missionary centres.

It is a charming locality during the summer season, but during the winter season it is ice-bound.

Michilimacinac during nearly all the French *régime* was the northwestern depot of French commerce. Expeditions from Canada by way of the Ottawa river and by portage and water to the Georgian Bay had for their terminus this central locality, from whence trading parties were directed to regions west and north-west.

The missionary period commenced as early as 1642, nominally, but the active work of conversion was begun by Father Ménard in 1660 ; this work was continued until 1762. Thus for a century Michilimacinac was the centre of the Jesuit system of Western Lake Missions.

The roster of celebrated men identified with the system include the names in chronological order from 1660 of Fathers Ménard, Allouez, Marquette, Dablon, André, Druilletes, Nouvel, Albanel, Ballioquet, Pierson, Silvy, Enjalran, Aveneau, de Carheil, Marest, Le Franc, La Morinie and Dujaunay. Some of these names will be recognized as those of Iroquoian missionaries, while those of others were of prominence in the Illinois missions.

But the seventeenth century has other missionary records. Before the Maryland pilgrims had set sail from England Lord Baltimore applied to the Superior of the Jesuit order in London for some fathers of this society to accompany the Catholic planters and settlers to America for their spiritual benefit, and to convert the Indians.

Father Andrew White, a distinguished scholar, whose career had already been marked by continental literary renown and by persecution in England, was selected as the apostle of the first



English missionary work in North America, under the auspices of the Society of Jesus. He was accompanied by Father John Altham, S.J., and lay brothers John Knowles and Thomas Gervase, S.J. The missionary work of this band among the Indians was coeval with the planting by Calvert of the Maryland colony.

The Indian nations of the period comprised the Andastes, the Anacostans, the Conestogues, the Patuxents, the Piscataways, the Susquehannas and the Yacomicos ; these nations were of Iroquoian stock, while their prevailing language was Huron. Besides, there were portions of the Nanticokes, the Ozinies, the Toghwoes, and the Wycomesses, who were of Algonquian lineage and who used the Algic dialect. While most of the nations mentioned were held in suzerainty and paid tribute to the Iroquoian Confederacy, they were dominated by the Susquehannas and Conestogues. The people of the Maryland Indian nations were of a superior class and lived in comfortable homes. The sachems of the dominant nations were intelligent rulers.

Father White studied the prevailing language ; he also acquired a knowledge of the customs and peculiarities of the people, and while absorbed in spiritual work he found time to compile a grammar, dictionary and catechism.

His missionary work among the Indians met with great success. Father John Brock (who became Superior) and Father Philip Fisher came to his assistance from England, and subsequently Father Roger Rigbie and others. Several of the chiefs were converted and baptized, including Chilomac and Mosorcoques. The Maryland mission, which lasted about ten years, was interrupted by Indian wars and by the death of Fathers Altham, Brock, Copely and Gravener, who succumbed to climatic fever ; the lay-brothers, Gervase and Knowles, were also victims of the same disease. The rebellion of Claiborne in 1644, and the death of Charles I., subsequently, were the political causes which brought this English mission to an end. Its founder, Father White, died in England about ten years later. The history of this decade is so deeply interesting that we beg to suggest to the readers of the REVIEW the study of the basis of Dr. Shea's outline, which we have partially given, and which this distinguished writer describes as the "*Relatio Itineris*, or Journal of Father Andrew White, copied at Rome by Father William McSherry, of Virginia, and published by Force in his 'Historical Collections,' vol. iv. He is our authority, with Oliver's 'Collections,' towards illustrating the biography of the English, Irish and Scotch members of the Society of Jesus, and Tanner's *Gesta præclara*." "White's narrative," continues Dr. Shea,

"is freely used by Campbell, 'Historical Sketch of the Early Christian Missions Among the Indians of Maryland'; Burnap, 'Life of Calvert,' and by McSherry in his 'History of Maryland.'"

In the meantime, the tribal remnants of the Huron nation, who had fled when Huronia was conquered by the Iroquoians, as has been stated, and had settled in groups on the shores of the adjacent waters, had refrained from war and had increased in number. They were good farmers, famous hunters, they lived in commodious cabins, and were well and comfortably clad.

At the solicitation of De la Mothe Cadillac a large group had come down from their village on the Lake Huron shore and made new homes a few miles below Fort Pontchartrain and the French colony of Detroit. With this group came Sas-ta-ret-sa, the head sachem, by hereditary right, of the existing representatives of what was left of the Huron nation.

This was in 1702. In the hegira which had succeeded the Iroquoian invasion a tribal group had landed on Bois Blanc Island, at the head of Lake Erie, and settled there, while another had gone lower down the lake and settled at Sandusky.

Sas-ta-ret-sa, the sachem, was the acknowledged head of the Huron tribes; he was a devout Catholic, and had made occasional visits to Quebec. So highly was he esteemed that the Governor-General of New France, the Marquis de Vaudreil, directed Cadillac to build him a substantial house on the high bank of the strait, in the vicinity of the Huron village. From father to son, most of these Hurons, although without direct missionary instruction, had retained the Christian religion and observed the traditional morning and evening devotional prayers; but others had lapsed to Paganism. The Recollet Fathers of Ste. Anne, of Detroit, became their spiritual solace.

When Father Charlevoix visited the Northwest in 1721 he remained two weeks at the post of Detroit, the guest of Father Anthony Delino,<sup>1</sup> chaplain of Fort Pontchartrain and pastor of Ste. Anne's. He spent some time at the Huron villages, and as he was familiar with the Huron language his visits were not without spiritual advantage to their people. No Jesuit at the time could mingle with the descendants of the Christians of Huronia without solicitude for the spiritual welfare of a race for the conversion of whose ancestors some of the most eminent of the order in North America had suffered martyrdom. From what he had seen, Father Charlevoix deemed it advisable that a priest should be sent

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<sup>1</sup> Father Delino was a Recollet.

to the Hurons of Detroit and vicinity, and on his return to Canada he so advised the Father Superior of the Jesuits at Quebec; but at the time there was no father speaking the Huron language available for such a mission. A few years later, however, Father Armand de La Richardie, S.J., was sent to Detroit to provide religious instruction for the Hurons. In order to avoid possible interference with the parochial status of Ste. Anne he obtained pastoral jurisdiction on the south shore of the strait, opposite the post of Detroit, and in 1728 he founded "*La Mission des Hurons du Detroit*," on the beautiful Crescent Bay, just above *La Pointe de Montreal*, where he built the mission church of the Assumption and a spacious mission house. The Detroit Hurons, the tribe on Bois Blanc Island and the tribe at Sandusky were included within the missionary jurisdiction of Father de La Richardie.

The locality of the Huron Mission of 1728 is now known as Sandwich, Ontario.

In 1744 Father Pierre Potier, S.J., was sent to Detroit as assistant to Father de La Richardie; on the retirement of the latter to Quebec in 1755 the former succeeded as Superior.<sup>1</sup>

*La Mission des Hurons du Detroit* was among the last, as it was probably one of the most famous, of the Jesuit missionary establishments during the eighteenth century in North America on the Western lakes. Father de La Richardie provided a mission store, which he placed upon a commercial footing superior to that of any trading establishment at the Post of Detroit.

His object was to provide a market where the Huron hunters could dispose of their furs at the end of the respective hunting seasons, as also their grain, either for money or for barter, at a fair price, without being debauched by *eau de vie* and swindled by the unscrupulous trader, as had been the custom. Twice each year the furs which had accumulated were shipped to the factor of the mission at Montreal and disposed of to the best advantage for account of the mission at Detroit.

The Hurons, realizing the advantages of the mission at the Crescent Bay, abandoned their cantons at Detroit, Bois Blanc and Sandusky, and made new homes in its vicinity.

It fell to the experience of Father Potier to see the standard of France lowered at Fort Pontchartrain and British soldiers assume control.

Soon after, the Ottawa chief Pontiac, whose cantons and castle

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<sup>1</sup> See the translation of the "*Livre des comptes de la Mission des Hurons des Detroit*," in the *U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine*, vol. iv., page 141.



were but two miles above the Huron Mission, on the same side of the strait, commenced his intrigue with the Indian nations having autonomy, for supremacy in the West. The Senecas, the Hurons, the Ottawas and the Indian tribes of the country west of Lake Erie were secretly enrolled in the most formidable hostile combination ever known in American history. A general Indian war ensued; Pontiac's final discomfiture followed. Indian demoralization became complete. Then followed the suppression of the Society of Jesus in Europe, the preservation of the autonomy of the order in North America, and the inhibition by the English Government of its reinforcement on American soil.

After the failure of Pontiac's conspiracy, Sir William Johnson, by shrewd management, succeeded in restoring British prestige over the Indian tribes comprised within the Ottawa chief's league.

The majority of these tribes, however, were sullen and demoralized; but the baronet was able to maintain a peaceful status up to the time of his sudden death in 1773.

The American Revolution ensued soon after this event. Some of the tribes remained neutral, others sided with the Americans; but the greater number were enrolled by England as auxiliary combatants, and fought for her according to the mode of Indian warfare.

American victory was the death-knell of the political power of the Iroquoian Confederacy, which was dissolved by the hegira to Canada of some of the nations of the League. This was one of the most important events in American Indian history, affecting, as it did, the six nations, and all the other Indian nations who had been subject to Iroquoian rule.

"When the War of Independence began in the East," writes Clarence M. Burton, "its effects were almost immediately felt in Detroit, and early in 1775 the English made this post the chief military depot of the West and the fitting-out place for the forays to be made upon the settlements in Kentucky, Virginia and Pennsylvania. The evident intent was to keep the colonists in the West so busy defending their homes that they would be unable to help their brethren in the East.

"With this object in view millions of dollars' worth of goods were shipped to Detroit and distributed to the Indians, who came, upon invitation, from the West and South. On their arrival they were feasted and flattered without stint; clothing, trinkets, firearms and 'red-handled scalping-knives' were supplied to them in enormous quantities, and on returning from their forays they often brought hundreds of scalps and prisoners.

"The defeat of the English in the West was largely decided by the capture of Governor Henry Hamilton, of Detroit, at Vincennes, by Colonel George Rogers Clark, on March 5, 1779. That victory and American successes in the East brought about the treaties of 1782 and 1783, which provided for the surrender of the western territory by the English. The pretext of unsettled claims and the protests of Montreal fur-traders who derived immense revenues from this region delayed the surrender.

"Meanwhile the Indians continued their depredations; but finally, on August 20, 1794, they and their British allies were effectually defeated by Major General Anthony Wayne, at Fort Miami.

"Jay's treaty followed, and was made November 19, 1794. It provided for the evacuation of Detroit and other western posts on or before June 1, 1796, but the surrender did not take place until July 11, 1796.

"This surrender," continues Mr. Burton, "clearly marks the date of the actual ownership by the United States of a territory larger than the original thirteen States, and the final result of such ownership gave us not only the control of the great lakes but the Mississippi as well, and, indeed, of all the territory clear to the Pacific coast."<sup>1</sup>

The spiritual rule which for a century had been directed by the Canadian hierarchy from Quebec was ended when the British flag was lowered at Detroit in 1796.<sup>2</sup>

American hierarchical control over the vast regions outlined by Mr. Burton was assumed by Bishop Carroll of Baltimore, who sent the Sulpitian Father, Michael Levadoux, to relieve the Very Rev. Pierre Frechette, last of the incumbents of the Church of Ste. Anne, whose line of pastorate under the See of Quebec had been continuous during all the eighteenth century.

Father Levadoux deciding to return to France, Bishop Carroll transferred Father Gabriel Richard, who was also a Sulpitian, from Kaskaskia to Detroit; the latter, with Father John Dilhet, a member of the same congregation, arrived in Detroit in 1798.

At the time the British relinquished control over the northwest shore of the strait by the evacuation of the fort at Detroit in 1796 the missionary-work of the Catholic Church among the American

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<sup>1</sup> Introduction, *Centennial Celebration of the Evacuation of Detroit, 1796-1896*.

<sup>2</sup> The channel of the strait from the head of Lake Erie to Lake St. Clair, and, above this lake, the channel of the River St. Clair to the waters of Lake Huron, was the established national boundary-line dividing Canada and the United States. This line extended along the northeast coast to the head of Lake Superior.

Indian nations of the West had been suspended during thirty years.

This beneficent work had been operated principally under the auspices of Catholic France from the earliest settlement on the St. Lawrence, all through the French *régime*, and even after the eclipse of French power in New France; but during the decade preceding this unfortunate event a condition of peace so essential to religious progress in any country had not prevailed.

The English and French were at war, while some prominent Indian nations had their warriors as auxiliaries in the armies of both of these nations. The Revolutionary War ensued, during which the Indians to a great extent, as has been stated, were subsidized, armed and sent to waste the outlying settlements of the thirteen revolting American colonies.

Other events occurring in Europe paralyzed the right arm of missionary-work in North America. In the progress of the French Revolution the Catholic monarchy and the Church were overthrown, and so fell off the subsidies which had been made for religion and education, while the wealthy families of the nobility who had liberally supplemented these subsidies were made bankrupt.<sup>1</sup> But in the meantime the Catholic Church in Canada had been able to provide zealous priests to look after the spiritual interests of the semi-civilized Catholic Indian communities, whose conversion had been effected principally by the Jesuit missionaries; so that probably no important losses of souls had occurred among these Indian communities from events in France and elsewhere in Europe adverse to the Catholic Church.

From what has been stated, it is but too evident that the policy of England during thirty years, in her relations with the American Indian nations west and northwest of Lake Erie to the head waters of Lake Superior, as carried into effect by the British commandants at the post of Detroit, was to arm these nations and to incite them to war against the people of the American States. At the close of the eighteenth century the people of those nations were in a demoralized and impoverished condition. The war-path had been more attractive than the hunting-field, which in reality was the natural source of the Indian's support. But the war-path had not been without its inevitable casualties; many an Indian mother who had been left in her cabin with children to feed by the cultivation of a little patch of ground never greeted the return of her husband or of her sons.

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<sup>1</sup> In this connection, see "The Financial Relations of Church and State in France," AM. CATH. QUAR. REVIEW, vol. xvi., page 187.



Filial endearment was among the brightest virtues adorning the nature of the American Indian mother, and great was the social misery entailed by the methods used to maintain English supremacy by the aid of the Indians on the western frontier.

When the religious control of the vast regions we have outlined devolved upon Bishop Carroll, his charitable instincts moved him to ascertain the spiritual as well as the social condition of the people of the Indian tribes, living upon the soil, in localities memorable in the history of the Church in America as the scenes of her missions during the seventeenth century. Among the first duties assigned Father Richard, who was young and zealous, and who had had some experience in missionary life in Illinois, was to visit the lake regions included within the parochial boundaries of Ste. Anne, which in fact included the littoral of the shores and islands of the region between Lake Erie and Lake Superior.

Father Richard first visited that part of his parochial territory extending below Detroit to the head of Lake Erie, in which were remnants of Indian tribes; he then proceeded to the Island of Mackinac, which after the conquest had been fortified by the British and had become the trading centre, which had formerly existed on the main shore opposite this island, known in history as Michilimacinae. He subsequently visited the islands in Lakes Huron and Michigan, Green Bay, and finally Sault Ste. Marie, and then returned to Detroit.

His report to Bishop Carroll as to the condition of the Indian tribes he had visited is on record. Debauchery, immorality and Paganism, with the attending consequences of these demoralizing factors, prevailed. Subsequently he visited the south shores of Lake Michigan. In all the territory he had visited a Catholic priest had not been seen for thirty years; and yet, evidence that the seed of faith was still alive was apparent to the young missionary.

Bishop Carroll, however, had no missionaries to send to these regions; but Father Richard renewed these visits, and after some years he had the happiness to see the missionary work of the Catholic Church resumed among the Ottawas, the Pottawatomies, and other Michigan Indian nations, by Fathers Badin, Dejean, Bellamy, Mazzuchelli and Résé. In the meantime Detroit had been included within the See of Bardstown, and subsequently within the See of Cincinnati. Father Richard's apostolate ended in a heroic manner in 1832.

The following year Detroit became a see, with Dr. Frederic Résé as its first bishop.

Rev. Frederick Baraga, who had served some seven years as a parish priest in his native province in Carniola, Austria, had been inspired with a vocation for missionary work among the Pagan Indian tribes of Northern Michigan. He arrived in Detroit in 1831, and in the summer of that year he went by water to Arbre Croche, one of the principal cantons of the Ottawa Indians of Lakes Huron and Michigan.

Father Baraga took up the work of his predecessors who had labored in the same field under direction of Father Richard, and reaped a rich harvest from the seed they had sown.<sup>1</sup>

Compelled by the United States Indian Agent to abandon his missionary labors among the Ottawas in the Grand River Valley, he returned to Detroit, resolved to redeem the Chippewas of Lake Superior from Paganism and degradation. In the meantime the tribes of the Pottawotomie Indians in the St. Joseph Valley, in the vicinity of Lake Michigan, among whom the Catholic faith had been revived by Fathers Richard, the elder Badin, and other priests, were expatriated by chicanery and force to a reservation west of the Mississippi; while the Ottawas, whom Father Baraga had almost completely evangelized, had to submit to a similar expatriation. These events occurred during the "thirties." The beneficent work of the Catholic Church accomplished by her revived missions among these two Indian nations, the people of whose tribes had become sadly demoralized during the quarter of a century the British commandant at Detroit had held them under control, but whose moral and social condition had been greatly improved by missionary toil, was almost completely neutralized by the arbitrary proceedings of the Indian Bureau of the Federal Government.

The second apostolate of Father Frederick Baraga among the Indians of Michigan commenced at La Pointe, an island in the head waters of Lake Superior and in the country of the Chippewas of this lake region, in 1835. It continued without intermission thirty-three years, and was ended in 1868 at Marquette, the titular city of the diocese of which he was bishop.<sup>2</sup>

In the history of the Catholic Church in North America there is probably no more interesting chapter than the Chippewa missions of Frederick Baraga; and probably, in the history of North

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<sup>1</sup> See "Frederick Baraga Among the Ottawas," *AM. CATH. QUAR. REVIEW*, vol. xxi., page 106.

<sup>2</sup> See "Father Baraga Among the Chippewas," *AM. CATH. QUAR. REVIEW*, vol. xxi., page 596.

America, few examples will be found of such successful evangelical work, of such generous self-devotion, and of such continuous labor, by which was accomplished the philological compilations of the Algonquian languages, which connect the name of their compiler with this language for all time.

About a decade after the advent of Father Baraga at La Pointe, the Jesuit Fathers of the new *régime*, under the auspices of the Church in Canada, crossing from the Ottawa river to Lake Nipissing, opened a mission upon its shores among the Pagan Indians, whose conversion became general.

Extending their work along both branches of French river, they entered the waters of the Georgian Bay, on the islands of which nearly two thousand Chippewas and Ottawas were living in Paganism. The tribes of these nations were evangelized, and, with the exception of about two hundred and fifty souls who are cared for by Protestant associations, and a score of Pagans, the original converts are solidly Catholic.

These same missionaries followed the Pagan Chippewas to their cantons on the northwest shores of the Georgian Bay, up the River St. Mary to the Sault, and along the north coast of Lake Superior to the boundary line at Grand Portage. The official tables of the Dominion Department of Indian Affairs for 1892-93 give the total number of Catholic Indians in the localities described as considerably over six thousand, against five hundred or more Protestants and one thousand one hundred Pagans.

But, while the work of civilization accomplished by the missionary agencies of the Catholic Church among the American Indians during the first half of the expiring nineteenth century, whether under the direction of the Church in Canada or in the United States, has been miraculously great, much of what had been accomplished under the direction of the latter was unfortunately interfered with, and to some extent undone, by the wholesale Government removal of the Indian converts to distant regions beyond missionary control.

This has not been the fate of the Indians converted under the auspices of the Church in Canada, for the reason that the progress of the country has not been so rapid, while the attitude of the Canadian Government towards her Indian nations has been paternal, and governed by humane principles.

But it remains to be stated that the missionary work of the Catholic Church, whether such had been directed by an American or by a Canadian hierarchy during the period mentioned, has been greatly hampered by the limited supply of funds available for un-



avoidable expenses, reduced to the lowest possible limit. Such has not been the experience of non-Catholic agencies operating in similar fields. On the American side ample funds from well-filled treasuries have not only provided family comforts, but also transportation facilities which have made the service of the non-Catholic missionary comparatively agreeable. On the Canadian side the Church of England and wealthy societies in London have supplied all the funds requisite, paid high salaries to missionary bishops, and established a system of colporteur methods and a press for the dissemination of religious light according to the sectarian standard of each.

The Flat Heads, *élite* of the Indian nations of the Rocky Mountain regions, had their cantons in that part of Montana west and at the base of the main range of the "Rockies." The warriors of this nation were brave and good hunters, and they were able to defend their homes against the attacks of the predatory savages by whom they were surrounded. Their chiefs were wise rulers, while morality and sobriety was the rule of life of this finely formed and intelligent Indian race.

In the early decades of this century two Mohawks, father and son, Ignace by name, from the Indian town of Caughnawaga, on the St. Lawrence, were employed by the Northwest Fur Co., of Montreal, to collect furs in this region. They made their homes in the chief canton of the Flat Heads. They were devout Catholics, and in time they explained to the chiefs the Christian doctrine, taught them prayers, and induced the practice of morning and evening devotions. The elder Ignace baptized the sick in cases of emergency, and explained the functions of a priest, and finally induced the chiefs to send a delegation to the Bishop of St. Louis to ask that a "black robe" might be sent to their nation. This involved a journey of about four thousand miles to be made on foot, over mountains, across deserts and streams, through the territory of ferocious enemies, whose vigilance it would be difficult to elude.

Of the four young warriors who volunteered for this perilous journey, one only had seen a white man's face; none of them had ever seen a village of white people. Ignace supplied them with money. In the spring of 1831 they left the Flat Head canton, and after six months of perilous adventure they reached St. Louis. What these brave souls endured is known only by Almighty God.

The fact that these delegates spoke only the Salishan language,<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Salishan languages include that of the tribes of the Atna, Belacoola, Chehalis, Cœur d'Alêne, Colville, Dwamish, Flat Head, Kalispel, Kaulits, Kawichen, Kila-mook, Klallam, Komuk, Kwantlen, Lilowat, Lummi, Nehelim, Netlakapamuk, Niku-

which was unknown in any friendly tribe they might have met, rendered their journey more difficult. The account of their mission was given by Bishop Rosati, who wrote to the editor of the "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith," December 31, 1831:

"Some three months ago four Indians who live across the Rocky Mountains, near the Columbia river, arrived at St. Louis. After visiting General Clarke, who had, during his celebrated travels, visited their nation and been well treated, they came to see our church, and appeared to be exceedingly well pleased with it.

"Unfortunately, there was not one who understood their language. Some time later two of them became dangerously ill. I was then absent from St. Louis. Our priests visited them, and the Indians seemed to be delighted with their visits. They made signs of the cross and other signs which appeared to have some relation to baptism. The sacrament was administered to them; they gave expressions of satisfaction. A little cross was presented to them; they took it with eagerness, kissed it repeatedly, and it could be taken from them only after death. It was truly distressing they could not be spoken to. Their remains were carried to the church, and their funerals were conducted with all the Catholic ceremonies. The other two attended and acted very becomingly.

"We have since learned from a Canadian, who had crossed the country which they inhabit, that they belong to the Flat Heads, who had received some notions of the Catholic religion from Indians from Canada. We shall obtain further information as to the means of reaching this nation."<sup>1</sup>

How pathetic is this statement of the venerable first Bishop of St. Louis of the sad ending of two of the Flat Head delegation. The survivors soon after started on their return journey. For three years the chiefs and people of their nation awaited their return with a "black robe," but they never returned!

The story of the perils of this delegation in the journeys they made, could it be told, but it probably never will be, would probably surpass in heroic incident any published narrative of American Indian adventure.

Ignace, the Mohawk mentor of the Flat Heads, led another delegation to St. Louis five years later, and obtained a promise from Bishop Rosati that a missionary would be sent to the nation. Two years passed in vain expectation, and a third delegation, led by Ignace, started for St. Louis. The story of the massacre of this party was subsequently related to the Flat Heads by a Protestant missionary who witnessed the tragedy. The Flat Heads

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tamuk, Nisqualli, Nuksahk, Nukwalimuk, Nusulph, Okinagan, Pend d'Oreille, Pentlash, Piskwau, Puyallup, Salish, Samish, Shiwapmuk, Shuswap, Siatl, Silets, Skagit, Skitsuish, Shokomish, Skoyelpi, Skwaksin, Skwamish, Snamaimuk, Snohomish, Songish, Spokane, Stailakum, Stalo, Tait, Thompson River Indians, Tilamuk, Toanhuch and Twana. There are, besides, forty-eight subdivisions of those named who use a similar language. Many of the distinct nations mentioned have been evangelized. Our authority for these names is James Constantine Pilling's *Bibliography of the Salishan Languages*, Washington, 1893.

<sup>1</sup> Paladino, *Indian and White in the Northwest*, p. 13.

did not despair. Two years later they sent another delegation to St. Louis, which was successful.

Father Peter John de Smet, S.J., was selected to carry the light of Christianity to the Flat Heads. In later years he went to Europe and secured the active co-operation of the Jesuit Fathers of the respective provinces of Belgium and of Turin. The evangelization of the Montana Indian nations followed. The story of these missions has been told by Father de Smet. It has been printed in three languages, and widely circulated in America and in Europe. The Fathers of the Belgian Province were : De Vos, Eberschweiler, Joset, Kermann, Kuhls, Kuppens, Rebmann, Van der Velden, Van Gorp and Vercruysse. With them came five lay-brothers, skilled mechanics and instructors. Fathers Barcélo, of St. Louis, and Point, of Montreal, accomplished much work.

The Italian Fathers were : Acolti, Bandini, Canastrelli, Caruana, Cataldo, D'Aste, Damiani, Diomedi, Falchi, Fensi, Gazzoli, Genna, Giorda, Grassi, Guidi, Imola, Mengarini, Menetry, who was a Swiss ; Nobili, Palladino, Parodi, Prando, Rapagliosi, Ravalli, Tosi, Vangina and Zerbinati. Several accomplished lay-brothers accompanied these ; and missionary work was ably supplemented by Sisters of Charity, including the Ursulines. Subsequently Father Hoecken, a Swiss by birth, if we are not mistaken, became an active worker in these missions, which continued more or less actively in all the Rocky Mountain regions during forty years. The cradle of this system was in Montana. The Indian nations in whole or in part evangelized were, in their turn, the Flat Heads, the Nez Percés, the Cœur d'Alenes, the Kalispels, the Kootenays, Pend d'Oreiles, Assinniboines, Gros Ventres, Blackfeet, Cheyennes, Crows, Spokanes and Sioux.

The range of these wild Indians extended from the Pacific, including Oregon and Washington, east to the Dakotas, and across the international boundary-line, including both Dakotas and Montana.

The history of these missions, which are still to some extent in process, has, as we have stated, been related by their venerable founder. One of the Italian fathers, Palladino, has quite recently published, "Indian and White in the Northwest, or a History of Catholicity in Montana," Baltimore, 1894. In this exhaustive work may be seen the portraits of the present bishops of this region, of most of the venerable missionaries, of the lay-brothers, and of the Mother Superiors of the religious orders established in Montana. He also enables us to appreciate the results of missionary zeal in behalf of the Indians, and in the work of their



civilization under the auspices of the Catholic Church. Views are given of missionary establishments, of churches, of industrial schools with their inmates; of the Ursuline Sisters' fine edifices for the training of Indian youth; of the establishments erected for other religious orders of women, and of hospitals and asylums made necessary by white civilization. Some of the beneficent institutions designed for the benefit of Indian children were founded by the munificence of Miss Drexel.

But some chapters in Father Palladino's work may not prove agreeable reading to fair-minded Americans. In these chapters are outlined the chicanery of United States Government officials, whose official position enabled them to gratify their bigotry against the Catholic Church in recent years by interfering with and by curtailing the successful work of civilization which had been in progress under Catholic auspices in the Rocky Mountain regions.

At Port Arthur ends the Jesuit system of Indian missions on the British coast of Lake Superior. The ninety-first degree of longitude in the Province of Ontario defines the eastern limits of the Archiepiscopal Province of St. Boniface, which extends to the western borders of Ontario, thence north from the international boundary-line to Keewatin, and west and northwest to the Pacific Ocean, including in the waters of the latter Vancouver Island and Queen Charlotte Islands, with Alaska and the Arctic Ocean as the extreme boundaries of the Archiepiscopal domain, in which is included British Columbia, Athabaska, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Assiniboia, Manitoba, and Keewatin. This vast western British empire has in recent years been connected with the Province of Quebec, and the east by the Canadian Pacific Railroad from Vancouver to Montreal. St. Boniface, the titular city of the Archbishop, is in the Province of Manitoba.

The present prelate is Louis Philippe Adélarde Langevin, O.M.I., D.D. His suffragans are the bishops of New Westminster and of St. Albert, of the vicariate apostolic of Athabasca, and of the vicariate apostolic of Saskatchewan respectively in the order named; Duriu and Clut, Grandin, Grouard and Pascal, all of whom are Oblate bishops.

The deceased prelates number six, namely: Faraud, Herboomez, Lorrain, Provencher, Tache and Villimer, all of whom were Oblate bishops.

We have no knowledge of any Indian missionary system in North America during four hundred years, conducted by any one religious order, as extensive as that now directed by Archbishop Langevin and his suffragans in the northwestern regions of the

Dominion of Canada. And yet the total population of this region is only 88,200. There are 36,000 Indians under missionary care, while the 52,200 remaining are whites and half-breeds. The white population of Manitoba is likely to increase, and also in other districts; but during the recent decade there is but little change in the status of the red and yellow elements of population.<sup>1</sup>

In the ecclesiastical province of Dr. Langevin there are 287 churches and chapels in which services are held regularly, 28 academies and colleges, 423 schools, 13 orphan asylums, and 11 hospitals. The work of educating the girls, both Indian and white, is performed by the Sisters of Charity, of whom there are 257, including 144 Gray Nuns. The asylums and hospitals are generally conducted by the latter order.

During the past three decades the following named Oblate fathers have labored in these missions: Allard, Ancel, André, Audie, Baudre, Bédard, Bellemere, Benoit, Bigonesse, Blanchet, Blais, Bonald, Bourguine, Bremont, Breynat, Brochu, Brunet, Bunoz, Caér, Cahil, Campeau, Campere, Carion, Cavanagh, Chapillon, Chiapini, Charlebois, Chaumont, Chireuse, Cocola, Cochin, Colignon, Comeau, Cornellier, Dandurand, Decorby, De Cham-breuil, De Kangué, Desmarais, De Vriendt, Dorais, Doucet, Doutenville, Ducot, Dupé, Dupin, Dupire, Dupont, Eynard, Fafard, Falher, Faraud, Fayreau, Fayard, Fillion, Fouquet, Fourmond, Fourmont, Fournier, Fox, Gabillon, Gascon, Gasté, Gauthier, Gendre, Gendreau, Gennin, George, Gireau, Giroux, Gléna, Gouy, Gourdon, Grandidier, Gregoire, Guénard, Gueguen, Guertin, Guillet, Hert, Horris, Houssaye, Hugonard, Husson, Jayol, Jouan, Jousard, Joyce, Jubinville, Jutras, Krangué, Lacasse, Lacombe, Ladet, Laferrière, Laflesh, Laity, Lajacq, Lamure, Laniel, Lavoie, Lecocq, Lecorne, Leduc, Ledousal, Lefebvre, Legeard, Legoff, Léguen, Lejeune, Le Moyne, Lesserrec, Levacher, MacCarthy, Madore, MacGukin, Magnan, Maisonneuve, Marceau, Marchal, Martin, Maurice, Merer, Michel, Morgan, Moulin, Mourrier, Nedelec, Oudemard, O'Dwyer, Ouelette, Page, Pandosy, Paquette, Pascal, Pelletier, Pénard, Perreault, Petiot, Peytevin, Pineau, Rapet, Remas, Richard, Richer, Remas, Reynand, Roure, Roy, Sauvé, Scollan, Seguin, Simont, Tessier, Teston, Thérieu, Tissot, Touze, Vales, Vegreville, Walsh, Whelan, J., and Whelan, W.

As auxiliaries to these fathers are 106 lay-brothers of the same order; 257 or more Sisters of Charity, including 144 Gray Nuns. As stated, the lay-brothers teach the boys, the sisters teach the

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<sup>1</sup> The "yellow," or half-breed, population slowly increases.

girls, care for and educate the orphans in the asylums, and nurse the sick in the hospitals. Of the 160 fathers whose names are given above, 19 have succumbed to missionary toil, leaving 141 in the field. Besides the Oblates, 47 secular priests are now serving the white population in cities and town in the Province of St. Boniface.

The names of 147 Oblate fathers given above indicate, apparently, that they are indigeous to the soil of the Province of Quebec, on which succeeding generations have lived and died in the Catholic faith during three centuries.

There are, however, 11 of the fathers having Irish names, 1 Italian, and 1 Belgian.

The territory embracing the circuits of the Oblate missions is the most diversified in all North America. It includes the fairest and most prolific of agricultural districts, as well as the most picturesque and wild regions of forest, lake and mountain.

British Columbia in the west is traversed by the Cascade range of mountains and the northwest range of the Rocky Mountains. In this territory at the present day may be found living in his natural method the original type of the northwestern Indian of North America. Within the circuits of these missions are the tribes of the nations of the Assinaboines, the Blackfeet, the Bloods, the Chippewas, the Crees, the Crows, the Esquimaux, the Kamloops, the Kootenays, the Nicholas, the Okanagans, the Saltaux, the Saskatchewanes, the Similkameenes, the Sushwaps, and others, consisting of three hundred and eighty-eight distinct communities, having an equal number of local tribal centres, within which, according to official authorities, the Oblate fathers have brought the light of Christianity, whose respective populations range from less than 100 to 1200 souls.<sup>1</sup>

But there are in British Columbia and in the northwestern regions of the Dominion of Canada estimated to be 21,000 wild Indians who are not yet enrolled or placed under the care of the agents of the Dominion Government. These wild tribes, however, are being evangelized by the Oblate fathers.

From these wild regions let us cross the international boundary-line into Alaska, with whose peculiar formation—frigid temperature and tempting auriferous, undeveloped richness—the American people have recently been made familiar. We venture to say that in Alaska may be found at the present day the perfect type of the North American savage.

But the primitive people of the Alaskan Indian tribes have

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<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Department of Indian Affairs of the Dominion of Canada, Ottawa, 1893.*



souls. The fathers of the Society of Jesus are now braving the rigors of the climate and the hardships connected with missionary work among such a people in order to win them to Christianity and to ultimate civilization.

The Alaska Prefecture Apostolic includes the Territory and the Aleutian Islands. Very Rev. Paschal Tosi, S.J., is the first prefect-apostolic. His is not the only Italian name which appears in the roster of missionary fathers. With his are Giardano, Parodi, Ragaru, Treca, and probably some of the four lay-brothers. The others are Barnum, apparently American, and Crimont, Judge, Munroe, Post, René, and Robout, all of whom are fathers of the Society of Jesus.

This prefecture was established in 1894. There are six churches with resident priests, one hospital, three schools, and two orphanages. The auxiliaries are the lay-brothers and the Sisters of Ste. Anne, sixteen in number, who conduct a school and hospital for the whites, a boarding-school and orphanage for the Alaskan Indians, and a boarding-school and orphanage for the Eskimo Indians.

The work of the Catholic Church for the redemption of the Indian possessors of the soil must end here, for the Arctic Ocean interferes.

This work is active to-day in this frigid region, as it was four centuries ago in the more congenial regions of the Pacific coast towards the south. We have attempted to outline this beneficent effort in the American Indian's behalf, first in Central America, in Mexico, in the present domain of the United States, and in the vast possessions controlled by the Dominion of Canada. In all this continent, wherever the American Indian lived in barbarism, the priests of the Catholic Church, when unopposed, during four centuries have, at the risk of their lives, while generally suffering great privations, sought him in his home in the wild forest to teach Christ crucified, to win him from Paganism, and by induction bring himself and his family into the more agreeable condition of a semi-civilized existence.

Great has been their success. That this success has not been more general is because political complications, white men's hatred, white men's greed and religious animosity have interfered to prevent or to undo their charitable work.

No other religious combinations attempting the conversion of the American Indian during the same period can show in part or in the aggregate so many living proofs as can the Roman Catholic Church of the efficacy of her work in the redemption of the Indians of North America.

RICHARD R. ELLIOTT.

## THE LATER RELIGIOUS MARTYRDOM OF POLAND.

IN the last number of the REVIEW, when treating of the struggle between Polish Catholicity and Russian "Orthodoxy" during the reigns of the autocrats, Catharine II., Nicholas I., and Alexander II., we alluded to the establishment, in 1801, of a "Catholic College" which, sitting at St. Petersburg, was to be for all the Catholics of the Russian Empire that which the Holy Synod was in regard to the schismatics. From the day when the infamous Siestrzencewicz was appointed by Alexander I. to the first presidency of this misnamed "Catholic" tribunal, it had constantly shown itself a perfidious and powerful engine for the destruction of all ecclesiastical independence. Count Dimitri Tolstoy, in that travesty of a "History of Roman Catholicism in Russia" (1864) of which we have already given some choice morsels to the reader, transcribes the memorial in which Siestrzencewicz explained the principles which were to guide this "Catholic College" in its mediatory relations between the czar and the faithful whom it was designed to betray. According to the traitor of Mohilew,<sup>1</sup> the czar, "as the anointed of the Lord, enjoys the supremacy over all the Churches and over all the bodies of Christian clergy in his empire"; as to the Catholic Church, *the czar grants to it a dependence on the Pope, "as far as dogmas are concerned; but in regard to matters of discipline and internal government, the czar entrusts them to diocesan bishops who are his subjects, and under conditions hereafter specified."* Then the Catholics of Russia were told that in the primitive Church, "before the Popes had usurped jurisdiction over the bishops," the archbishops were wont to convoke, twice a year, "councils or congregations" for the consideration of *dogmatic* or disciplinary questions; and that now "such a congregation was to sit permanently at St. Petersburg, the emperor naming as its members such of the Catholic clergy as it would please him to choose." Furthermore, just as the most mighty and most clement czar was the "supreme judge" over the Holy Synod, so in the new "Catholic College" that gracious autocrat was to have his representative. "A *secular* procurator will preside for the emperor, and will forbid all resolutions and decrees which *he may deem* dangerous; all which may be contrary to the imperial rights or to the laws of the country."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the last number of the REVIEW, p. 701.

<sup>2</sup> Tolstoy, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii., pp. 436 and 439.

Shortly after the presentation of this memorial, His Grace of Mohilew addressed to the czar another, entitled "The Election of Popes," in which he feigned to discern a necessity, on the part of His Majesty, of putting an end to papal usurpation. Tolstoy relies on the ravings of Siestrzencewicz as proofs that "The consent of the Roman court to the consecration of a bishop is merely a sign of ecclesiastical unity ; but the administrative authority in a diocese is that of the local bishop, *so far as the laws of the state permit it.*" And Tolstoy adds that several other memorials of Siestrzencewicz were merely developments of the same convictions, "sustained by most positive proofs" against the claims of the papal nuncio to a jurisdiction over the Russian Catholic clergy. The archbishop of Mohilew insisted, says the apologist of the Holy Synod, not only that all papal Bulls should be submitted to governmental approval, but also that the Pope should not presume to send any decree into the Russian empire, unless said decree had been requested by a metropolitan who had been authorized by the czar to request it. Dimitri Tolstoy, being the imperial procurator of the Holy Synod, *i.e.*, to all intents and purposes the Russian Supreme Pontiff, was presumably an educated man ; and, nevertheless, he attempted to justify the course of Siestrzencewicz by this effusion : "History shows us a much more striking instance of a limitation of the papal authority by Catholic ecclesiastics. There exists to our day in Holland and in the Catholic (*sic*) Church of Utrecht,<sup>1</sup> the bishops of which, although they remain entirely faithful to the dogmas of the Roman Church, and although they acknowledge the Pope as the Head of the Church, do not tolerate, on his part, any direct interference in the discipline and organization of the clergy, and consecrate their own bishops according to the rules of the primitive Church, without any request for his authorization."<sup>2</sup> It may be possible, on the score of crass ignorance of history, to excuse the procurator of the Holy Synod when he finds in the schismatic conventicle of Utrecht any more Catholicity than he would discern in the English Establishment, or in the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland ; but charity does not bid us excuse his wilful blindness to the salient fact that the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff is a dogma of Catholic faith, and that the right of "direct interference in the discipline and organization of the clergy" is necessarily included in that supremacy.

The ukase of Alexander I. establishing this "Roman Catholic College" is simply an abridgment of all the tyrannical laws by

<sup>1</sup> See our *Studies in Church History*, vol. iv., ch. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 120.



which Catharine II. endeavored to reduce the Catholic Church of both the Latin and the Uniate Rite to the level of the State "Orthodox" Establishment.<sup>1</sup> The Roman Pontiff was to be absolutely ignored, not only in the selection of the members of the new tribunal, but also in every decree which it might issue. The archbishop of Mohilew was declared to be, *ex officio*, its president. Each of the Catholic dioceses of Russia were to be represented in it by a prelate or a canon, chosen by the Cathedral Chapter, but confirmed by the czar. In the third Article of the ukase the members were enjoined to proceed according to the ecclesiastical canons, "but to observe strictly all the imperial prohibitions concerning every foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction and communication, preserving, in accordance with their sworn allegiance, all the rights of the autocracy and the imperial statutes." The fourth Article assigned to the College the right and obligation of deciding, *in last appeal*, all applications for divorce. And lest there might be some doubt as to the determination of the czarate to assimilate the condition of the Russian and Polish Catholics to that of the schismatics, the eighth Article prescribed that the Catholic College should be unable to decide definitely in any matter without the consent of the "directing Senate" of St. Petersburg; that the College should always "observe the rules prescribed by the General Regulation."<sup>2</sup> We have seen, when treating of the course of Nicholas I. toward his Catholic subjects, how that monarch, after his interview with Pope Gregory XVI., showed some little velleity to grant an almost indiscernible modicum of satisfaction to the pontifical claims; but even in that petty instalment of justice, which was quickly neutralized by new enactments of his persecuting spirit, no change was effected in the attributions of the "Catholic College" of St. Petersburg. After the rupture of diplomatic relations between

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<sup>1</sup> The entire ukase is given by Szantyr, in his *Collection of Information Concerning the Catholic Religion in the Russian Empire, and Especially in the Annexed Polish Provinces*. Paris, 1847. See also Theiner's *Vicissitudes of the Catholic Church of Both Rites*, vol. ii. Paris, 1843.

<sup>2</sup> This "General Regulation" had been devised by that Peter who is termed "the Great." Peter had abolished all the "chancelleries of state," bodies equivalent to the "ministries of state" in other countries, and he had replaced their titulars by so many "Colleges" or Councils. Each one of these "Colleges" was ordered to follow the prescriptions of a General Regulation; and when Peter abolished the patriarchate of Moscow in all but in name, he established an ecclesiastical "College" which he afterward designated as the "Holy Synod," subjecting it to the same Regulation. It is evident that Peter saw no difference between the administration of ecclesiastical affairs and that of war, secular justice, or finance; and to the same level Siestrzencewicz endeavored to reduce the Church whose rights he had sworn to defend. See Tondini's *The Ecclesiastical Regulation by Peter the Great*, p. 3.

the Holy See and Alexander II., which, as we have seen, was entailed by an insult offered by a Russian ambassador to Pius IX. in his own palace of the Vatican, there appeared an imperial ukase (May 22, 1867), in which the jurisdiction of the "Catholic College" was minutely explained, and which terminated in these words: "All persons guilty of holding with the Pope of Rome and his government any relations other than those hereby allowed (that is, under a special and apposite imperial permission), and all persons who illegally receive from the Pope, or from his government, or from any foreign ecclesiastic, any Bulls, Briefs, or other instructions or decisions, without having sent them to the local government or to the Minister of the Interior, shall suffer the punishments prescribed by the special law on this matter."<sup>1</sup>

The Holy See was informed of this ukase, not by the Russian government, but by Staniewski, the administrator of the diocese of Mohilew; and this unworthy ecclesiastic, following in the traces of Siestrzencewicz, dared to tell the Pontiff that the Catholic bishops of the Russian empire had received the document with gratitude and reverence; that the "Catholic College" was revered by all honest Russian and Polish Catholics. His Holiness immediately issued an Encyclical, in which he drew the attention of all the bishops of the world to a decree which "trampled on the natural rights of man by its violation of the rights of conscience"; and on Jan. 3, 1868, Cardinal Antonelli called on Staniewski to repair the scandal which he had given, and to seek for absolution from the censures which he had incurred. His Eminence declared that were the Pontiff to recognize in the "Catholic College" a right to determine what affairs should be referred to the Holy See, he would confer his own primacy on that tribunal; that, furthermore, no lay authority, and especially no schismatical or heretical authority, could decree anything concerning purely ecclesiastical matters. The cardinal-secretary expressed his astonishment on learning that "a Catholic bishop could so far debase himself before a schismatical government as to accept voluntarily so pernicious a law; that a Catholic bishop could join other Catholics in forming a tribunal which had been designed for the ruin of religion; that a Catholic bishop could even preside over that tribunal, and thus become the enforcer of such a law." When Staniewski, on the part of the Russian government, ordered the Polish bishops to send delegates to the "Catholic College," some of them—the Papal condemnation of the tribunal not having

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal of St. Petersburg*, cited by *Le Monde*, August 11, 1867.

yet reached them—thought that the gravity of the circumstances might justify them in relying on the ulterior ratification of their submission by the Holy See. Among these compromisers were Lubienski, bishop of Augustovo, and Sosnowski, administrator of Lublin. Others, however, like Vincent Popiel, bishop of Plock, whom the reader must not confound with Marcellus Popiel, the wretched apostate bishop of Chelm, whom we shall soon introduce to his notice, replied resolutely that they would not obey the imperial command. Then Count Berg, lieutenant for the czar in Poland, summoned the intrepid Popiel to Warsaw, and bade him remember that although he was a bishop, he owed compliance to every order of the czar. “In affairs ecclesiastical,” returned the prelate, “I owe no obedience to His Majesty. As a Catholic bishop, I owe obedience to only one human being—His Holiness, the Pope. You are a Russian general. What answer would you give to him who would tempt you from your allegiance? You would reply: ‘Never.’ Such is my answer now. They may dispose of my person as they see fit.”<sup>1</sup> The indomitable man was immediately deported to Novgorod.<sup>2</sup> Lubienski soon repented of his deference to the Muscovite demands, and in a long and eloquent letter to Count Berg<sup>3</sup> he described the perplexities of his conscience during the short period when he had endeavored to reconcile his episcopal duty with his devotion to the czar.<sup>4</sup> He concluded with these words: “When I look back on all the circumstances which should have enlightened me much sooner, I recognize perforce an exceptional grace of God in the opportunity to confess my error, and to repair it as far as possible, which He has accorded to me. . . . I declare by these presents that, considering the imperial decree which endowed the Roman Catholic College of St. Petersburg with the right to inspect letters directed to the Holy Father by the bishops, and to decide as to whether those letters should be transmitted; and considering that the said College has for its president a bishop who has incurred canonical censures; therefore I can

<sup>1</sup> *Gazette of Augsburg*, October, 1868.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander III. allowed him to return to Poland. In 1875 he was transferred to Wladislaw, and in 1883 he was promoted to Warsaw, where he still edifies the Poles by an evident readiness to suffer for the faith, if necessary, just as in his younger days.

<sup>3</sup> Published in the *Czas* of June 24, 1869, and reproduced by the *Dygodnik Katolicki* of Grodzisk (Posen), July, 1869.

<sup>4</sup> “Lubienski had rendered himself an object of suspicion to his compatriots because of the extreme zeal with which he sacrificed, ostensibly at least, the most legitimate demands of Polish patriotism, in order to exhibit the fidelity of a Russian subject—as though he wished thereby to purchase the right of remaining an irreproachable bishop.” —Lescour, *The Church in Poland*, bk. iii., ch. i. Paris, 1876.



take no part in the composition or in the acts of the said College. What is more, I declare that by my convocation of the Chapter of Sejn for the purpose of electing a delegate to the said College, and by my order to the Abbé Andrzejewski to proceed to St. Petersburg in order to occupy a position in the said College, I committed a culpable action which has been reprobated by the supreme authority of the Church, and which therefore I also now reprobate. I beg Your Excellency to communicate this my declaration to His Imperial Majesty, to whose profound wisdom and generous justice I have the happiness of committing myself with all submission, in everything which is just that he may deign to command." The deportation of Mgr. Popiel had already indicated how much consideration the "generous justice" of Alexander II. would accord to Mgr. Lubienski. On March 31, 1869, at two o'clock in the morning, he was arrested in his palace, and a few hours afterward a detachment of police escorted him on the road toward Perm, in the depths of Russia. Great was the grief of Lubienski's diocesans; but in a few days their sorrow became horror. Their bishop had died on the road. Had he been murdered by the oppressors? He had been a healthy man, and had lived only forty-three years. Men recalled the similarly suspicious circumstances of the recent death of Mgr. Kalinski, the Uniate bishop of Chelm, and they formed their conclusions. The last days of Lubienski proved the fallaciousness of his theory that by force of sincerity and virtue toleration might be wrung from the schismatic autocracy; that, as he expressed the idea, there is no invincible antagonism between the Pole and the Russian; that "the two peoples were made to understand each other, and that a Pole always agrees with a Russian better than with a German." The holy prelate's philosophy was that of the Polish proverb: "So long as the world is the world, a Pole will not be a brother to a German"; but his Pan-Slavist aspirations will never be satisfied until the standard-bearer of Slavism shall have returned to the fold of religious unity. The noble conduct of Mgr. Lubienski was imitated by Mgr. Sosnowski, the administrator of the diocese of Lublin; but more fortunate, in a worldly sense, than Lubien-ski, the administrator escaped from Poland.

The children of the Holy Synod are wont to justify their efforts to Russify the Poles by the fact that, many centuries ago, Poland subjugated many Russian provinces, and imposed upon them the Polish religion, language and laws. But the reader must know that this "Polonization," concerning which the Muscovites find it convenient to complain, was neither a violent nor a sudden pro-

cess ; it was the work of four or five centuries, and the sword of persecution never aided it. On the other hand, the Russification of Poland is the very quintessence of violence, and its advocates endeavor to accomplish it without delay. Again, the much decried Polonization of Western Russia was an endowment of barbarians with that civilization which the best minds, even among Russian schismatics, would like to see the portion of millions of Russians to-day ; whereas, the Russification of Poland signifies the degradation of a Catholic civilization by the introduction of a truly oriental autocracy and a servile Byzantine ecclesiasticism. The Russification of the Poles had been prosecuted, of course, with more or less energy ever since the commission of the crime of 1782, but it was reserved for the reign of the emancipator of the serfs to systematize the iniquity. By the advice of Nicholas Milutine, a brother of Dimitri Milutine, the Minister of War, Alexander II. decreed the compulsory use of the Russian language in all the Polish tribunals and schools, in private life, and even in the sanctuary. In order to arrive more easily at this end, the persecutors confiscated the estates of great numbers of Polish nobles and other Polish landowners, and sold them to "Orthodox" Russians or German Protestants.<sup>1</sup> The few Polish landlords who were spared found that by a ukase of December 10, 1865, they were forbidden to sell or lease their lands to other than "Orthodox" Russians ; and lest they might find means of evading this prohibition, no sale or lease was to be held as valid unless it had been sanctioned by the governor-general of the province. The same ukase deprived Catholics of the right of bequeathing landed property to persons not their natural heirs. No Catholic could hold a position under the government ; he could not be even an employee of a railroad. The chief means, however, of this Russification was to be the pretended conversion to "Orthodoxy" of those Uniates who had escaped from the persecution of Siemaszko in 1839 by their passage to the Latin rite. Under the supervision of Kauffmann, that German convert to "Orthodoxy" whom we have met as the successor of the atheistic Mourawieff as governor of Lithuania, the days of Siemaszko seemed to have returned.

One of the most zealous apostles of "Orthodoxy," although he proclaimed openly that money would make of him either a Turk or a Jew, was Prince Chowanski. This officer once reproached an assemblage of peasants with being remiss in their duty to pray for the czar ; and when he was told that they always fulfilled that

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<sup>1</sup> Martinow, *De la Langue Russe dans le Culte Catholique*. Lyons, 1874.

duty, both in church and at home, he asked for a demonstration of their veracity on the spot. The unsuspecting rustics dropped on their knees; and Chowanski, as though to increase the solemnity of the occasion, caused a lighted candle to be placed in the hands of each one. When the prayer had been recited, the military missionary congratulated his astounded hearers on their voluntary conversion to the religion of Holy Russia. In vain the peasants cried that they would die sooner than abandon the Catholic faith; they were told that they had become "Orthodox" by the very fact of praying while holding candles which had been blessed by "Orthodox" priests. An adjutant then registered all the names of the "converts," and the poor creatures were ordered to proceed to the schismatic church, there to seal their recantation of the errors of Popery by Holy Communion. With blows of clubs and threats of the bayonet they were driven to the schismatic altar, a "pope" administered the Blessed Sacrament to them; and the unfortunates found themselves and their children enrolled on the official registers of the State Church, and subject, if they dared to protest, to the punishments which "Orthodoxy" visits on apostates. Similar scenes were multiplied throughout Lithuania; and when Alexander II. visited Wilna, he replied to a deputation of his victims who besought him to allow them to follow the dictates of their consciences: "I shall never authorize a return to the Catholic Church on the part of those who have once embraced Orthodoxy." We have alluded to the punishments with which "Orthodoxy" visits what it feigns to regard as "apostasy." Our limits forbid many illustrations of this phase of the policy of Russification; we shall notice only the case of Mary Denisow, which greatly agitated the Poles in 1869. This girl, born of Catholic parents in the department of Grodno, in 1848, and baptized in the Catholic Church, was forcibly "re-baptized" by an "Orthodox" priest when she was six months old, during the absence of her mother, and in spite of the protests of her dying father. According to the Russian law, therefore, the baby Mary had "embraced Orthodoxy," and the Catholic mother was bound by the same law to train her as a schismatic. However, Mme. Denisow succeeded in sending her child to a convent in Nice, where she remained until she reached womanhood. Returning to her native land, Mary married a Catholic named Kleczewski, in June, 1867. A child was born of this marriage in February, 1868, and was duly baptized by a Catholic priest. On the day after this baptism Kleczewski was summoned to the office of the chief of police, and questioned as to how he had dared to espouse an "Orthodox"



woman, and as to how he had dared to have the offspring of that "Orthodox" woman baptized according to the Catholic rite. The trembling man was told to choose between Siberia on the one hand, and on the other a re-marriage to Mary in an "Orthodox" church, accompanied by the obligation to educate his present child and all future offspring in the religion of Holy Russia. If he refused to comply with the law, not only would he be sent to Siberia, but he would also know that his babe had been taken from its mother and was being raised in the asylum for illegitimate children. Kleczewski succeeded in having the case carried to the courts, but the decision was that "the said Mary *Denisow*, cohabiting with *Kleczewski*, should be confined in a Russian convent; the child to be *re-baptized*, with new name and surname, and to be consigned to a House of Refuge." Before the sentence could be executed, the little family had crossed the frontier.<sup>1</sup> It is not surprising that under pressure like this of the Kleczewski family there were many instances of Polish nobles and gentlemen succumbing to Russification during the reign of Alexander II. The most notable of these apostates were Bielnicki, marshal of the nobility of Troki; Prince Bronislas Drucki Lubecki; the two brothers Mirski, and Prince Nicholas Radziwill. In justice to Radziwill, however, we must record that at the time of his defection he was more than half demented. In 1867 he wrote to the czar offering to "embrace Orthodoxy," on condition that he were allowed to repudiate his wife, and to marry, at the same time, two daughters of a certain schismatic priest. Lax as is the practice of the "Orthodox" Church in the matter of divorce, Alexander II. and his Holy Synod found this application rather extravagant; and a government officer was instructed to subject the amorous prince to a medical examination. The physician testified that Radziwill was crazy; but, nevertheless, the representative of the czar pronounced the unfortunate duly enrolled in the State Church of Holy Russia.<sup>2</sup>

In the estimation of the "Orthodox" clergy, the chief glory of the reign of Alexander II. was not the emancipation of the serfs, but rather the delivery of the Uniate Greeks of Russian Poland from the "thralldom" of Rome, and their subjection to that instrument of czarocracy, the Holy Synod. Although officially destroyed in the ancient Polish provinces since 1839, the United Greek rite still subsisted in 1866 in the "kingdom of Poland," being concentrated in the diocese of Chelm, the sole Uniate diocese which "Orthodox" persecution had spared. This diocese had a popu-

<sup>1</sup> The *Dygodnik Katolicki* of Grodzisk, January 1, 1869.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Journal of Posen*, May 5, 1871, and August 13, 1872.

lation of about 250,000 Uniate Ruthenians, who lived in such a state of intermixture with the same number of Polish Latin Catholics that in many of the villages the two parochial churches were attended indiscriminately by persons of either rite. In 1865, two years after the insurrection, a deputation from all the communes of Poland having waited on the czar at St. Petersburg to thank him for his release of the peasants from certain burdens, the Ruthenian delegates availed themselves of the occasion to entreat His Majesty to leave them their religion. Alexander replied: "*I give you my imperial word that your religion shall not be touched.*" And, nevertheless, in less than a year from that time, the compulsory transformation of the Uniate diocese of Chelm into a schismatic one had been begun. This "gentle" Alexander II. commenced with the schools. He pretended to regard the kingdom of Poland as divided into four nationalities: Polish, Lithuanian, Ruthenian, and German. In order to prevent the children of the Ruthenians (all Uniates) from frequenting the "Polish" schools, as the Russians termed those in which were any Catholics of the Latin rite, special institutions were established for them; and when the parents asked why their little ones should be forced to learn the Russian language, when their prayer-books were all couched in Polish, the government introduced Russian into the churches, and consequently into the prayer-books. Kalinski, the bishop of Chelm, resisted; but he was arrested, and ostensibly deported to Wiatka. Nothing more was ever heard of this episcopal "rebel"; the Russian authorities said that he had died on the journey, but his children (he was a widower when he became a bishop) could never learn where the death had occurred. After the disappearance of Kalinski, the government gave the administratorship of the diocese to a canon named Wojcicki, who reorganized the consistories, appointing to them a number of schismatics and several apostate priests from Galicia. Circulars were sent by Wojcicki to all the parish priests, recommending the introduction of many schismatical usages, and the suppression of many Catholic rites which he pronounced redolent of "Latinism." The Ruthenians were told that the matters at issue concerned their nationality, not their religion. The same insidious method was pursued by Kuziemski, a Gallician whom the czar nominated in 1868 to the see of Chelm, and whom the Holy See preconized, since hitherto he had enjoyed an excellent reputation. But the event proved that when the Russian government selected Kuziemski as successor to Kalinski, it had perceived an instrument for its own purposes in his weakness of character.

There was another motive for the Russian selection of Kuziemski. An Austrian subject, and at one time a deputy in the parliament of Vienna, he was one of the leaders of those Ruthenian priests of Gallicia who, under the name of "St. Georgians" (so called from the titular saint of the United Greek cathedral of Lemberg), posed as defenders of Ruthenian nationality against the Poles, and who feigned to be bulwarks of strength whereby the members of the Oriental rite could resist the alleged attacks on their customs by the enterprising Latins. This party supported an organ entitled the "*Slowo*," a journal which was Catholic only in name, since it openly advocated the establishment of a national church. The reader must remember that the United Greek clergy of Gallicia—married, of course, like the schismatic secular priests—form a hereditary class, and that, therefore, they are completely absorbed in their family interests. Hence is derived their hatred of everything Polish, especially of the Polish nobility, for whom they would substitute themselves; and hence, consequently, comes their distrust, if not hatred, for everything Latin. And here we may remark that it is this caste which disposes of the Ruthenian votes in the Cis-Leithan parliament; and that Russia, interested in a rivalry which existed long before the partition of Poland, encourages that rivalry in a thousand ways, under the very eyes of Austria, which seems to be blind to the lamentable fact. In the Paris "*Monde*" of September 2, 1875, we read an illustration of the strange complicity of the Uniate clergy of Gallicia with the Russian destroyers of the Uniates of the diocese of Chelm. We perceive how Russia, ever since 1830, labored for the perversion of the Catholics of the Greco-Slavonic rite, not only in Gallicia, but even in Hungary and Illyria. While Marcellus Popiel, the famous apostate, was a student in the Uniate College at Vienna, the Russian ambassador, Raiewski, cultivated most intimate relations with all the inmates of that institution. He visited them for hours at a time, entertained them frequently in his own mansion, and never conversed with them on other than political matters. In 1848 the Austrian government, in order to neutralize the Polish discontent in Gallicia, excited the Ruthenian population against the Latin Poles. From that time it was not an extraordinary thing to hear the Ruthenian subjects of His Apostolic Majesty lauding Holy Russia as the mother of their nationality, and acclaiming the Holy Synod as the protectress of their Church. Apostasy was not infrequent on the part of the Austrian Ruthenian priests. In 1874, when the Austrian government so far imitated the German as to persecute the Church with those laws which,



after the fashion of *lucus a non lucendo*, were termed "ecclesiastical," the seven Ruthenian priestly deputies (one of them the rector of their seminary) all voted for the enactments. Facts like these cause many acute observers of Polish affairs to believe that most of the Austrian Ruthenian clergy are already Muscovite at heart, and that the people will be drawn quite easily into the schismatic ranks when Russia obtains possession of Eastern Galicia; and the same facts account for the readiness of the Russian government in appointing the Gallician, Kuziemski, to the see of Chelm.

Shortly after his arrival in Chelm, Kuziemski issued a pastoral against what he styled the "Polish propaganda," describing its effects as truly lamentable, since, as he declared, *on a soil essentially Muscovite*, many had ventured to quit the Uniate for the Latin rite; thus denying, moaned the lying sycophant, both their Church and their nationality. The manifesto concluded with the command that *all who had passed to Catholicism*, or who came of parents who had *illegally* changed their *religion*, should return to the *United Greek Church*. Let not the reader fail to note this affectation of a belief that Catholicism and the Latin rite are synonymous—an affectation which is habitual among "Orthodox" Russians, just as among all other Eastern schismatics. When the "Orthodox" Russian uses such language to a United Greek, he (consistently with his system) implies that there is only one true and legitimate Greek rite—namely, that of the Photian or Cerularian schism of which his Church is the daughter. But the utterance of such sentiments by Kuziemski, a bishop who called himself a Catholic, is certainly one of the curiosities of religious literature. No wonder that the Uniates discerned in their bishop a future Siemaszko. Great indeed, however, was their surprise on March 18, 1871, when the official journal announced that the ill-health of Mgr. Kuziemski had led him to ask His Imperial Majesty to relieve him of his functions, and that he was about to return to Lemberg. The hatred of Kuziemski for the Poles had induced him to follow the suggestions of the Czar to the very point of apostasy; but since he refused to plunge into the abyss, he received his passports. His successor, Marcellus Popiel, was more complacent to Holy Russia. Popiel had been the most zealous of all the supporters of Wojcicki; and at the time when the Vatican Council was about to convene, he had publicly declared that if the papal infallibility were pronounced a matter of faith, he would not accept the definition. Such was the new administrator of Chelm, who was summoned by Count Tolstoy, the procurator-

general of the Holy Synod, to a council in St. Petersburg, which the czar had appointed to settle the affairs of the United Greek Church in his dominions. The other members of this council, besides Tolstoy, were Count Schouvaloff and the governors of the departments of Lublin and Siedlcé. The nature of its conclusions is easily perceived in the speech made at a farewell dinner given in Chelm by Kokoszkín, the Russian functionary who had hitherto acted as imperial supervisor over the religious affairs of the Uniates: "The difficult task with which I was entrusted by Count Tolstoy, the Minister of Public Instruction, is ended. . . . The continuation of this mission is confided by the government to the most reverend administrator of the diocese, and to you, honorable gentlemen, who have comprehended the intentions of the government so well. It is true that there are still some fanatical priests in this diocese who do not appreciate the happiness of being definitively united with our holy mother, Russia, and who, therefore, prevent us from uniting ourselves with her; but I trust that they will soon perceive the error into which Polish intrigue has led them. Believe me, gentlemen, for I am an honest man, . . . and I assure you that no religion is better than the Orthodox Greco-Russian, that no civilization is superior to the Russian, and that there is no happiness so great as that of being a subject of the magnanimous emperor, Alexander II. Reflect well, you gentlemen of Gallicia! Do you not know, by your own experience, that I am speaking the truth? I need say nothing concerning the most reverend administrator of the diocese, whose learning and virtues are so well appreciated *by His Excellency the minister* who honors him with his confidence. But you, Father Rector,<sup>1</sup> would you have been made a canon by the Austrian government? Would that government have given you the cross which now rests on your noble breast? And you, Father Cybilin, would you have attained your present dignities under that government? No! It is only under a government like ours, under a monarch like ours, that one can hope to be so honored. . . . Although, Gallicians, you may be true representatives of *that part of Russia which is oppressed by Austria*, I regret that I cannot speak as freely in Lemberg itself, at the side of the worthy Fathers Malinowski, Pawlikow, Pietrusiewicz, and other honorable personages whom I know so well; *but let us hope that our desires will soon be satisfied*. I offer this toast to the health of His Majesty, the President of the Holy Synod of St. Petersburg, *who is the Supreme Head of the Orthodox*

<sup>1</sup> Krynicki, who had been called from Gallicia to be the rector of the seminary of Chelm.

*Greco-Russian Church.*" The priests who applauded this speech termed themselves Catholics ; but their effrontery was well matched by that of the Russian government, which, generally so severe in its censorship of the press, allowed the effusion of Kokoszkine to be published in "*The Polish Journal*" (December 11, 1872). Here is a high functionary of Russia publicly advancing the pretensions of his autocrat to Austrian Galicia—claims based only on the community of rite followed by the Ruthenians of Russian Poland and by the Ruthenians of Austrian Poland. The czarate must be confident that it has already a number of Austrian Gallicians devoted to itself, a number sufficiently large to encourage it to speedy overt action—a number of unworthy priests like those who have been expelled or are voluntary exiles from Galicia, who have been received into the diocese of Chelm, where, like Popiel and others, they have become or will become canons, pastors, even bishops, replacing the faithful ecclesiastics who are banished from the kingdom when they are not sent to Siberia.<sup>1</sup>

In his zeal for the Russification of the Ruthenians, Popiel found that he could not obtain a sufficiency of pliable priests from Galicia, and therefore his agents looked around for a number of wretches who were willing to enter into Holy Orders as his servants. Such were easily found ; but how were they to be ordained ? He procured the services of the notorious Sokolski, a Bulgarian who had abjured the Greek Schism, had then been consecrated by Pius IX. himself, and had finally apostatized.<sup>2</sup> Popiel caused Sokolski, then residing in Galicia, to make several visits to Chelm ; and each visit was made the occasion of an ordination of

<sup>1</sup> In the Paris *Univers* of April 10, 1875, we read : "If we remember that in Galicia there are 2,300,000 United Greeks, and in Hungary and Transylvania more than 800,000, we may understand the danger which menaces the Austro-Hungarian Empire, not only from a religious, but from a political point of view. The cause of the evil is found in the miserable temporal condition of the United Greek priests, who are very numerous in Galicia and Hungary, and are all married and fathers of families. By paying them, the Russian government makes them its instruments."

<sup>2</sup> In 1860 many thousands of Bulgarian schismatics, headed by their pastors, declared their subjection to the Holy See, and besought the Pontiff to give them a bishop. The candidate whom they presented was Joseph Sokolski, an archimandrite of one of their Basilian monasteries, and a person of approved morals and of supposed simplicity of character. In order to demonstrate to the neophytes his paternal interest, Pius IX. raised Sokolski to the episcopate in the Sistine chapel ; and the new bishop departed for Bulgaria laden with costly presents from His Holiness and the Roman patricians, which were intended to adorn the churches of the converts. Sokolski arrived in due time at Constantinople, but then he suddenly disappeared. Rumors reached Rome that he had been kidnapped by Russian emissaries, but it was finally learned that he had succumbed to the temptations of the Russian ambassador, and had returned to the schism. For interesting details concerning Sokolski and the reunion of the Bulgarians see the Paris *Correspondant*, November 25, 1860.



several prospective apostates. Popiel was unable to seduce the masses of the laity; but he had much success with the children, who were placed under the tuition of either open or secret schismatics, and were taught the Greco-Russian hymns and Catechism, while nothing was allowed to remind them that the Church of their baptism was a part of the Universal Church which is ruled by the Successor of St. Peter. As we have already observed, none of the innovations of the Russifiers were presented to the people as tending to withdraw them from the communion of Rome; everything was designated as a "purification of the United Greek rite" from the deleterious intermixture of Latin observances. But the eyes of the simple-minded were opened when they saw that sixty-three of their priests preferred imprisonment, or even Siberia, to a connivance with the "purification";<sup>1</sup> when they saw these faithful pastors replaced by vagabond foreigners, whose first thoughts were of Russian gold; when they found themselves threatened with fines and the knout if they entered Latin churches; when they saw the new clergy affecting all the externals of the schismatic "popes," and heard them preaching in Russian. At first the resistance was passive; but when Popiel threw off the mask it became active, and was frequently signalized by martyrdom. In the beginning of October, 1873, the Holy Synod told Popiel that he was proceeding too slowly; therefore, on the 31st (O. S., 19th) he sent to each one of his deans a copy of a new ritual which was openly schismatical, and he enjoined on each dean to enforce its adoption in all the churches of his deanery on and after January 1, 1874. In this new manual of liturgy, wherever the name of the Roman Pontiff had occurred, it was replaced by the words "the hierarchy." Since all the deans were creatures of Popiel, and since they had already installed men like themselves in nearly all the parishes, the people were dismayed when, on entering their churches at the time appointed for the change, they found themselves confronted by sanctuaries which displayed all the paraphernalia of the schismatic cult. The horrors which now ensued in every part of the vast diocese of Chelm have no parallels in modern history. The rods of the Cossacks and other more refined tortures knew no distinctions of age, sex, or relative debility, as they were applied for the purpose of extorting signatures to a petition addressed to "The Most Clement Czar, The Father Of All

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<sup>1</sup> Popiel took care to publish in the official journals that he "had been obliged to remove from their parishes only a *few* of the clergy for their refusal to obey the orders of the government"; but the journals of Lemberg submitted a list of sixty-three who had been imprisoned or banished in one year.

The Russians," begging that he would deign to hearken to the "voluntary" prayers of "his loving Ruthenians," as they besought him "to be admitted to the embrace of the Holy Orthodox Church." Those who scorned this embrace of a daughter of foul schism and heresy received, when the regulations were observed (and they were generally exceeded), fifty lashes of the terrible Cossack *Nahajka*, if they were men; if they were women they were supposed to escape with twenty-five, and the children were deemed worthy of only ten. Mr. Jewell, then Minister of these United States to the Russian court, wrote to Secretary Fish on February 23, 1874, that many of "*the most obstinate and audacious women*" received a hundred lashes; and the callous envoy studiously abstained from stating the number of the "obstinate and audacious" Catholics who died from the effects of those lashes. For details of this persecution we refer the reader to the works of Martinov and Lescoeur, which we have already cited, and to the pages of the *Monde* and of the *Univers*, for 1874. We shall mention only a few cases in illustration of the eagerness which, according to the Russian official reports, the Uniates manifested for a separation from the Holy See.

In the village of Uscimow an officer named Tur ordered his squadron to drive the inhabitants to the neighboring lake. The unfortunates were pushed into the icy waters, and there compelled to remain for several hours, with only their heads and shoulders unsubmerged. Only when the demon became convinced that he could not obtain their signatures did he allow them to leave the lake. Colonel Klemenko, governor of the district of Kurnick, and Kalinski, governor of Siedlcé, drove their populations bareheaded into the open fields, when the thermometer indicated a cold of 16 degrees (Reaumur), intending to keep them there until they yielded. The guards were relieved every two hours, while the "voluntary converts" persisted in remaining unconverted. When the persecutors found that their efforts were futile, they pillaged every house in the two districts. At Wlodawa, a captain of Cossacks, one Formin, saw three women die under the lashes of his men. At Pratulin, in the district of Janow, Colonel Stein shot nine of the obstinate to death, and wounded four mortally. Then he drove the inhabitants to witness the effects of disobedience to the orders of the benign czar. The mother of Onufry Wasyluk, one of the victims, was wailing over his body, when his wife cried out, "Mother, do not weep for your son. I do not weep for the death of my husband, for he is a martyr for the faith." Then the president of the district, Kutanin, thought that he might effect by

persuasion what terror could not produce. He tried to bribe a peasant named Pikuta, an old man whose probity and intelligence had made him a power in the district, to persuade the people to become the spiritual subjects of their tender autocrat. Pikuta signified his readiness to address his neighbors, and Kutanin called out to the crowd, "Here is a man whom you love and respect. He will tell you what you ought to do." Pikuta spoke as follows: "You wish me, president, to tell my neighbors how they shall act. I am ready to obey you; but they know already what I would say. There is but one course for all of us—we must remain invincibly attached to our holy faith, come what may." Then the patriarch fell on his knees, and signed to his hearers to imitate him. When all had knelt, he drew from his bosom a crucifix, and pronounced the following oath, the people repeating it after him: "I swear by my grey hairs, by the salvation of my soul, by my hope of seeing God at the moment of my death, that I will never abandon one iota of our faith. The holy martyrs suffered innumerable persecutions for this faith; our brethren have shed their blood for it, and we must imitate them." The soldiers immediately seized the brave old man, and having loaded him with chains, dragged him to prison.<sup>1</sup>

Martinov records an instance of a young mother being threatened with Siberia if she would not sign the act of apostasy; and when the officers told her that they would take her babe from her, she blessed the little one and placed it in the arms of one of them, saying, "There it is; God will care for it."<sup>2</sup> In the face of facts like these the official journal of St. Petersburg dared to say, on January 26, 1875, that "the opposition of the Latin Church and the Encyclicals of the Pope have had only one result—the *voluntary* conversion of 45 parishes, 26 ecclesiastics, and 50,000 parishioners to the Greek (schismatic) rite." And our Mr. Jewell, the sage diplomat already cited, informed his government that the priests of Chelm, as well as those of Siedlcé, had decided "unanimously" to join the Orthodox Church. Mr. Jewell was careful to remark that "probably" this change of religious profession would be attributed to "violence"; and then the oracle emitted this solemn judgment: "It is more likely that an absence of all persecution and the progress of the age have tempered religious fanaticism, and prepared the way for more material and more pro-

<sup>1</sup> *The Schism and Its Apostles*, published anonymously at Cracow in 1875, and translated into French for *Le Monde*.

<sup>2</sup> *The Brigandage of Chelm*, in the *Etudes Religieuses* of June, 1875.



saic interests, in this century of ours *in which Mammon is so powerful.*"<sup>1</sup>

The supplication for union with the Church of Holy Russia, which Popiel and his staff of excommunicated and degraded priests addressed to the head of that Church, Alexander II., is an interesting document: "Most August Monarch, Most Merciful Lord! All the ancient Russian provinces which had fallen under the Polish domination, have had the happiness of re-entering the One, Holy, Orthodox Church. . . . The sole diocese of Chelm experienced the misfortune of remaining longer *under a foreign rule, remaining in union with the Popes of Rome, who, as has been well demonstrated by ancient facts and recent experience, govern the Church in a spirit which is not the spirit of kindness and of love which was taught by Jesus Christ, but rather a spirit which regards neither the temporal happiness nor the eternal salvation of the flock.* The powerful words of Your Imperial Majesty have broken the chains of serfdom which fettered the Russian people, and which were especially heavy in this region, under the influence of men of another religion, who sought to make the Russian population, ever animated by an ardent love for their Russian country, a blind and docile instrument of their political intrigues. The series of governmental measures which followed the emancipation of the peasants, the object of which was the well-being of the people and the clergy, and, *above all, the abundant revenues accorded by Your Majesty for the training of all classes in the Russian spirit,* have awakened in the populations the sentiment of national and ecclesiastical unity with the rest of Russia which had been suffocated under the *foreign* domination. . . . Firmly convinced of the purity of the dogmas of the Orthodox Church of all the Russias, from the communion of which *we were so long withheld,* and governed by the interests of the flock confided to our care, *and which thinks as we do,* we have resolved to prostrate ourselves at the feet of Your Imperial Majesty, begging you most humbly to assure the happiness of the Russian Uniates in the diocese of Chelm by allowing them to join the Orthodox Church of their ancestors, so that with one heart and one only tongue we may glorify God, and address to Him our prayers, together with the entire Russian people, for your health and welfare, Most Pious Emperor, and for the happiness and prosperity of Russia, the country which is so dear to us." This masterpiece of hypocrisy was soon followed by a *Capitular Act*, in which the "Chapter of

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<sup>1</sup> We quote from the *Monde* of April 29, 1875.

Chelm" announced to the faithful subject to it that they were now children of the State Church of Russia; and which, from beginning to end, was redolent of the ideas of Tolstoy, and was frequently a *verbatim* reproduction of the audacious assertions of that minister. The Chapter, or probably Tolstoy writing in the name of that body, begins by giving the simple-minded Ruthenians a lesson in ecclesiastical history. They are told that "it was from the Orient, from the Greek Church, that their Slavic ancestors derived the faith"; but they are not told that when Sts. Cyril and Methodius evangelized the Slavs, and when "Greek priests first preached to *the Russians*," the Greek Church was subject to the Roman Pontiff, just as it had been from the beginning of Christianity. It is asserted that from that time (where was "Russia" then?) "the Orthodox *Oriental* Faith penetrated to the very foundations of the *national life of Russia*," and thenceforth "*the name of Russia was identified with that of Orthodox*." The conversion of the Ruthenian schismatics in the sixteenth century is ascribed to the "treachery of the bishops, who yielded to Polish pressure, and were *guided by Jesuits who were hardened in intrigue*." Here the hand of a layman, of a politician instead of a theologian, betrays itself; for while blaming the "treacherous bishops" for "interpolating" the *Filioque* in the *Creed*, the instructor says that those churchmen, when thus interfering with the purity of the Faith, "forgot the advice of St Paul, in *II. Tim., ch. i., v. 6, 7*."<sup>1</sup> The Uniates are informed that "although very able measures were taken to entangle the people of Western Russia in the nets of the Roman domination and of Polonization, from the first moment of the proclamation of the Union the people perceived that in that Union with Rome there was involved not only a subordination to the bishop of Rome, but an attack on the purity of the Eastern Faith, *and an attack on the foundations of the national life, and on their nationality itself*. The people understood that *the object of the Union was the complete absorption of the Russians, and the destruction of their very name*." The writer complains that "nearly all the Western Russian nobles had passed to the Latin rite; and that the Polish government, and the party of the Jesuits and of the Polish gentry, used every effort to efface every difference *between Catholicism and the Union*." And why not? "Uniate" and "Catholic" were synonyms in Poland. However, by "Cath-

<sup>1</sup> Certainly there is no argument against the *Filioque* in these words: "For which cause I admonish thee, that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by the imposition of my hands. For God hath not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of sobriety."

olicism" the writer means "Polonism." Very innocently indeed the "Orthodox" apologist says that "when Poland lost her political existence, the Union immediately weakened in the provinces annexed to Russia. During the reign of Catharine II., two millions of Uniates *returned* to Orthodoxy; and in 1839, under the Emperor Nicholas I., *of blessed memory*, the remaining Uniates in the western provinces, *having declared solemnly that they renounced the Union, were received into the fold of the Orthodox Church. Thus it was with extreme facility that destruction fell on a work which had been accomplished by a double use of force, by a violation of the rights of conscience, and by material oppression.*" The sublime impudence of this passage needs no comment. But the diocese of Chelm was yet to be saved from the cruel Union which caused the Uniates "to manifest toward the Russian population religious intolerance and hostility, in all their force"; and the first measure for its redemption was taken when the "tender" Alexander II. opened rural schools for the children, "*wherein they might be trained in an atmosphere not corrupted by political agitators.*" The next measure, says Popiel or his Mentor, was the establishment of higher schools in which "*the young generation might imbibe the Russian spirit.*" Under the benevolent rule of Alexander II., writes the pen of the Holy Synod, "the Uniate clergy felt the need of examining more attentively their position in the land, and to understand better their duties toward their flocks." They resolved to enter the Church of Holy Russia, in spite of the machinations of the Pope, who "legitimated all the alterations and Latino-Polish innovations in the United Greek rite; who showered blessings on the apostates<sup>1</sup> who separated themselves from the Church and the people." And the chief reason why Popiel and his precious "Chapter" could not remain Uniates was found in their unwillingness to place themselves in opposition to the dispositions and measures of the Russian government, "*and even in opposition to that Most August Emperor who had conferred so many favors on them, the humble ministers of the altars.*" Popiel received his thirty pieces of silver in the shape of the "Orthodox" diocese of Lublin, created expressly as a reward for his "apostolic" labors. Thus was consummated the extirpation of the United Greeks in Russian Poland—a work of fraud and violence far more detestable than that of England toward Catholic Ireland; since, before this century, England had never formally promised freedom of conscience to the Irish. In 1773, after the first par-

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<sup>1</sup> These "apostates" were those who abandoned the excommunicated Popiel.



tition of Poland, that crowned prostitute whom "Orthodox" Russians style "Catharine the Good" stipulated, in the sixth article of the apposite treaty, that "*the Catholic religion, in both rites, shall be maintained in the ceded provinces, and its rights and property shall be respected.*" In 1793, in the treaty for the second partition, the same German Messalina on a Slavic throne promised "*irrevocably for herself, and for her heirs and successors, to maintain perpetually the Roman Catholics of both rites in the unchangeable possession of their prerogatives, properties, and churches, as well as in the free exercise of their worship and discipline, and in all the rights pertaining to the cult of their religion; declaring that neither she nor any of her successors would ever attempt to exercise any sovereign rights in prejudice of the Roman Catholic religion of the two rites.*" Alexander I. ratified the treaties of 1814-15 which were entailed by the Congress of Vienna, and which guaranteed full liberty of worship to the Poles. In 1832 the Russian ambassador to the Vatican communicated to Pope Gregory XVI., by order of Nicholas I., an imperial Organic Statute which guaranteed that "the government of His Majesty would ever show special respect for the religion which was professed by the greater part of its Polish subjects." In 1847 Nicholas I. entered into a new Concordat, which repeated the assurances of 1832. And finally, only ten years before the catastrophe of Chelm, Alexander II. had said to a Ruthenian deputation, "I give you my imperial word that no one shall touch your religion. I shall not permit it."

Justice to Alexander II. demands that we record that during the last days of his reign he manifested a conciliatory tendency toward the Holy See. When Leo XIII. mounted the papal throne in 1878, the absence of diplomatic relations with Russia did not prevent His Holiness from notifying the czar of his elevation. One of this Pontiff's earliest acts was the issue of a powerful Encyclical against Nihilism; and it so pleased Alexander II. that he caused it to be read in all the churches of his empire, despite the signature of "Supreme Pontiff," with which it terminated. The czar even caused his ambassador at Vienna, Prince Oubril, to enter into a comparatively just arrangement with Mgr. Jacobini, the papal nuncio at that capital, concerning the episcopal nominations and Catholic education in Russia; and as a further proof of his good intentions, he sent his sons to the Vatican in December, 1880. But the too usual fate of a monarch of Holy Russia befel Alexander II. ere he was able to prove that his sense of justice toward his Catholic subjects was conceived in other than a

spirit of velleity. The first acts of Alexander III. in reference to the Holy See indicated a desire to follow in the later rather than in the early footsteps of his father. The audience of Prince Oubril with Leo XIII., on April 20, 1881, was marked by every deference on the part of the envoy, and on the following December 24th a draft for a Concordat was signed at the Vatican by Jacobini (then a cardinal) and M. de Giers, the prime minister of the czar. Then came the Franco-Russian *rapprochement*, and, as a natural consequence (since every Russian coolness toward Berlin means some consideration for the Papacy, and *vice versa*), closer relations were resumed between the autocratic and the papal courts. M. Iswolski arrived in Rome as Russian ambassador at the Vatican in 1888, shortly after the treaty of San Stefano, when Alexander III. withdrew from the Triple Alliance which had bound together the cabinets of Vienna, St. Petersburg and Berlin. But Catholic optimists had forgotten one important personage. Constantine Pobedonostzef, the successor of Tolstoy as procurator of the Holy Synod, was implacably averse to any renunciation of the abuses which are the very life-blood of Russian bureaucrats; and as he had been the chief tutor of Alexander III.—a timid and hesitating man, although physically a giant—his influence over that sovereign was immense. He reminded his former pupil of the principal lesson which he had learned: that official “Orthodoxy” is the symbol and the sole *raison d’être* of Muscovite power and glory; that the entire programme of Russian policy should be based on the principle, “All and everything for *pravoslavié* or Slav “Orthodoxy”; in Russia all interests must yield to those of *pravoslavié*, for there is no *jus contra jus*.”<sup>1</sup> Pobedonostzef gained his point, and in certain parts of Poland men soon came to think that Nicholas I. still reigned. The Polish language was absolutely proscribed in all schools; not even among themselves, and during recreation, could students use it. Not only teaching, but also preaching, was to be in Russian, even when the hearers did not understand a word of that language. No Polish Catholic could be employed by the state or by a municipality, even in the most menial capacity; with one stroke of the pen 55,000 Poles, employed on the railroads, were condemned either to apostasy or destitution. In no governmental document, and in no journal or periodical, could the name of Poland occur; the country was to be designated as the “Land of the Vistula.” Children were marched by force from the schools to the schis-

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<sup>1</sup> Villefranche, *Contemporary Russia*, p. 316. Paris, 1895.

matic churches. Innumerable Catholic churches were closed or destroyed. Entire villages were proclaimed "Orthodox" despite the protests of the inhabitants, and exile was the lot of the Catholic priest who dared to administer the Sacraments to those whose names the Holy Synod had placed on its registers. Where neither force, nor knout, nor money availed to crush "Polish obstinacy," Siberia was made the missionary of the State Establishment. In the governments of Vilna and Grodno, where in the olden time all the churches had been Catholic, and in 1863 one-half had become schismatic, in 1893 there were only 292 Catholic churches to 983 schismatic ones. The massacre of Krozé, in the province of Grodno, will serve as an illustration of the methods adopted by the apostles of "Orthodoxy," and of the culpability of the imperial government in the premises. The authorities having closed a parish church as a preliminary measure to its transfer to the state clergy, about a hundred peasants entered the edifice. They were immediately attacked by some Cossacks, and eight were killed, while forty-two were grievously wounded. Fifteen of the women were outraged, and their companions were knouted nearly unto death. When Pope Leo XIII. heard of the matter from unexceptional sources he protested to the czar, and that potentate ordered Prince Cantacuzene to make an investigation. The result was a report to the effect that the Catholics of Krozé, "justly suspected of Polonism, had attacked the imperial soldiers, and had met a deserved punishment." Then the Pontiff sent to Alexander III., by a sure hand, the evidence which had prompted his complaint, remarking, in an autograph letter, "It is evident, Sire, that one of us has been egregiously deceived. Since you are nearer to Krozé than I am, deign to discover, for yourself, which one of us receives misleading reports." The czar made a personal inquiry, and having found that Cantacuzene had hidden the guilt of the authorities of Krozé, he sent for the prince, and it is said that in the height of his indignation he gave the culprit a blow in the face. Be this as it may, Cantacuzene felt that he was disgraced, and on the following day he poisoned himself. Meanwhile the survivors of the massacre were languishing in prison, and it became necessary to try them. Some generous Russian lawyers, who had been edified by their behavior in the jails, volunteered to defend them. Evidence of their innocence was abundant; but, nevertheless, four of the accused were condemned to ten years of hard labor, three to Siberia, and twenty to some months of further imprisonment. The greater and most influential part of the European press, and all of the American



secular and Protestant religious journals, entirely ignored this and similar episodes of the reign of Alexander III.; for the victims were Catholics. The editors, or at least the masters, of the principal continental journals of Europe are nearly all Jews, and when the "Orthodox" Russians direct their engines of persecution against the usurers of the Hebrew race we are overwhelmed with columns of pathos. The time was when the Jews of Poland and of Russia sympathized with the Catholic victims of the Photian schismatics; and this sympathy was natural, the Jews having suffered nearly as much as the Catholics after the partition of Poland, whereas in the ancient Catholic kingdom they had enjoyed extraordinary privileges; for instance, in the eleventh century they enjoyed the right of imprisoning Christians for debt—a right which, among the Polish Christians, was exercised only by the nobles. In 1334 Casimir the Great pronounced the Jews *idonei et fideles*, and subjected them, just as the nobles were, to the common or territorial law, whereas the Christian burghers were subject to the more irksome Germanic municipal law. This Polish monarch even decreed that the testimony of a Christian should avail nothing against a Jew, unless it were corroborated by that of another Jew; whereas the oath of a Jew sufficed to convict a Christian of debt, and he could levy on the property of that Christian, if such a course was necessary in order to obtain his money. Even after 1406, when public indignation against Jewish extortions excited a bloody persecution against them, and when many privileges were taken from them, the Jews retained their civil equality with the Christians, and were even allowed to teach in the Polish universities. When the Polish Jews passed under the Russian domination, among other new burdens they incurred that of subjection to military service. It is true that Alexander I. remitted this obligation in the case of all Jews who could pay a fine; but Nicholas, from a population of two millions of Polish Jews, took twenty thousand for his army and many thousands of boys for his navy. This czar tried to subject the Polish Jews to the religious laws of his empire; and he designed to transfer them all in a body, when Russian conquests would have permitted, to some region beyond the Taurus.

When Alexander III. succumbed, in 1894, to the disease which had been the consequence of his attempted assassination in 1888, he was succeeded by his son, Nicholas II. Like those of his father, the first public acts of the young monarch promised a small but still acceptable measure of justice to his Catholic subjects. The victims of Krozé were allowed to return to their

homes. General Orowski, the governor of Vilna, was summoned to St. Petersburg, to answer for his course in the fearful episode; but, like Cantacuzene, he cared not to survive his fall, and he blew out his brains in the railway carriage which was bearing him away from the capital. Gourko, the terrible executor of the mandates of Pobiedonostzev in the "Land of the Vistula," was placed on the retired list. Mgr. Vincent Popiel, archbishop of Warsaw, was allowed, together with two other Catholic bishops, to visit Rome—an authorization which had not been accorded during the previous fifty years. But a few days after the removal of Gourko, when the Poles had begun to realize the sweetness of easy breath, it transpired that Nicholas II. had written to him a letter of most affectionate praise—a letter in which the hand of Pobiedonostzev was plainly discerned. The czar lauded the "admirable" conduct of his governor-general; his "conscientious and energetic" method of welding the Polish provinces to the vast empire, "of which they are an integral part"; especially his zeal for the cause of official *pravoslavié*, as manifested by his erection of an "Orthodox" cathedral in the very centre of Warsaw. "By such efficacious means," concluded Nicholas II., "the influence of the Russian Church will be considerably augmented at the western confines of the empire." After the contents of this letter became public property, no surprise was expressed because the new sovereign deferred until after his marriage (November 16, 1894) any judgment in the case of the seminary of Kielcé, which had been closed because some Polish books had been found in it. For this "crime" all of the professors had been arrested, and some of them had been deported to Siberia. We do not know, as we write these pages, whether any of these "conspirators" were included in the amnesty which, as usual on such occasions, followed the marriage of Nicholas II.; but we do know that since that amnesty very many priests have been exiled for just such "treasons" as they committed. Thus, some months afterward, twenty-four priests were deported; all being condemned to three or five years of exile, and all who were teachers being deprived forever of the right of teaching. In justification of this proceeding there was adduced a note found in a memorandum-book belonging to one of them, showing that they had entered into an agreement to aid each other in the difficulties which the incessant Russian persecutions of the Church would probably entail upon them. At this same time the Paris *Monde*, one of the few (even among Catholic) French journals whose anxiety for the Russian alliance permits them to speak candidly on these matters, narrated how

the bishop of Sandomir, returning from a visit to Warsaw, whither he had been summoned to "welcome" the new governor, found a squad of police dragging one of his most worthy associates from the episcopal residence; and how, when the bishop attempted to embrace the unfortunate, he was thrust aside, an order having been issued by the government prohibiting all communication with the arrested. At that time, also, some humble peasants were dragged from the village of Minoga and deported to the depths of Muscovy, their offence having been a propagation of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus—a devotion which the Russian State Establishment affects to regard as heretical. We hesitate, therefore, to yield credence to the recent reports concerning an intention on the part of Nicholas II. to grant some small measure of justice to his Catholic subjects.

REUBEN PARSONS, D.D.

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## IRISH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

UNIVERSITY education could not have been thought of by Irish Catholics as a right to which they were entitled until this century was well advanced. Emancipation was granted in 1829, and under conditions that showed it was a concession to fear and not to justice. If a demand were then put forward for exclusive Catholic education the stock arguments of foreign allegiance, mental reservations and equivocations would be again furnished up for duty. Protestant friends of Emancipation would charge Catholics with breach of faith because their support had been won as much by the submissive attitude of Catholics as by the justice of the cause. These Protestants, with all their liberality, played the part of patrons, and wished the Catholics to think and act in political and social matters under their guidance. They were the security to the State for Catholic loyalty, and their *protégés* should be content with statutory but not practical citizenship.

Since 1794 Catholics could obtain degrees in Trinity College,<sup>1</sup> and some availed themselves of the privilege with loss of faith now and then in those pre-emancipation days, with loss of faith even since emancipation; but we think it will be admitted that since the early fifties there has been no Protestant place of education in the world so liberal to Catholics as Trinity. Still the social atmosphere of Trinity was charged from top to toe with the spirit of the Ascendancy. It required exceptional independence on the part of a Catholic to resist its influence. We have seen the result in those Catholic members of Parliament who seemed to be forever apologizing for their position in the House. Their personal courage could not be questioned, but they did not possess one scintilla of social courage.

In connection with the national system of education, and in pursuance of its non-sectarian policy, three State colleges were established and endowed in Ireland, viz.: at Belfast, Cork, and Galway. These are the Queen's colleges. A little later the Queen's University was established, embracing these institutions and coincident with them. The avowed object was to afford an

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<sup>1</sup> It is the only college in the University of Dublin, and so overshadowed it that the degrees were always spoken of as of the college, and not of the university.

university career to young men not rich enough to go to Trinity ; the object attributed to them was to withdraw the Catholic middle classes and very promising youths of the lower classes from the influence of the Catholic hierarchy. It is not easy to say to what extent this judgment was well-founded, because there was under the scheme an arrangement for deans of residence who could control the moral conduct of the pupils of their own persuasion. It is said that the philosophy taught in these establishments was of a pernicious character, and the history anti-Catholic and anti-Irish. Be that as it may, Parliament was deaf to the representations of the episcopate. The only course open to the hierarchy and the influential laity was to found the establishment called the Catholic University, of which Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Newman was the first Rector. For this a poor country subscribed, between the years 1852 and 1872, the sum of £200,000 ; but as it had no charter, no State recognition, it could confer no degrees. Generations of graduates passed through it to the learned professions with the disability that marks a man in such professions who has no degree in arts. From the first the Queen's colleges were a failure. Stricken with sterility by the condemnation of Catholic opinion, their immense resources were expended in conferring easy degrees on Presbyterians, who had come to regard them as their own ; on Episcopal Protestants, who had not means sufficient for Trinity, or to whom uncompleted-for prizes and scholarships were a temptation. This is the way higher education for Catholics stood when Mr. Gladstone pronounced it " scandalously bad " ; this is the way it stands to-day. The Royal University, created in 1879, was an attempt at solving the question ; but this issue may be put aside for the present. The measure of the Tory ministry in 1879 substantially left Catholic university education where it stood before, where it stood in substance and in fact in 1829, where it stood in 1794, the year after a measure was passed which repealed some of the penal laws and gave Catholics some citizenship in their own country. It is true that though any foreign Protestant could without any formality obtain all the rights of a subject in Ireland in the beginning of 1793, though he could become a barrister, a judge, a governor of a county, a member of Parliament, anything, yet a Catholic whose fathers had lived in it for centuries was nothing, and could be nothing. At the close of that year the Catholic was enabled to become a voter but not to be a member of Parliament, a barrister but not a judge. He could practise before some French Huguenot or German Lutheran, if either of these became a judge ; he was entitled to vote

for either of such adventurers if he stood for a county or some other constituency not kept in the pocket of a private owner. As one of the freeholders of the county he might serve in a corps of yeomanry at the command of the German or Frenchman, if either were the governor of his county.<sup>1</sup>

Objections to the Catholic demand, on the ground that the existing provisions for education are ample, are answered by the admissions of both parties in the State. If men conscientiously object to avail themselves of the Queen's colleges and Trinity, it is useless saying that these institutions are a provision for them. It used to be said that it was not the penal laws that disqualified Catholics for office, but the Catholics themselves. They refused to take oaths and observe certain religious practices which were conditions to entering upon and retaining those offices. The laws did not deprive a Catholic of his estate, but to enjoy an estate of inheritance it was necessary for a man to be a Protestant. If a youth can be educated only according to a system which his father believes is dangerous to his faith and morals, he cannot be educated at all.

Now the position Catholics are placed in is this: they must be satisfied with a less effective education than Protestants; they must pay more for what they get, such as it is, and they go into life branded with the stigma of social inferiority. If this be the case (and there can be no question of it), they have a claim to be placed on a footing of equality with Protestants of all kinds. They are not inferior to Protestants in ability; competitive examinations for the civil service prove this. Irishmen, Protestant and Catholic, are more successful than Englishmen or Scotchmen. The Scotch have always had exceptional advantages in education. The son of a peasant or a small tradesman in Scotland had an university career within his reach when in England or Ireland no one except a comparatively rich man's son possessed it. Anyone now can obtain an university education in England; but take the countries even as they stand and we find that in the examinations for the Indian civil service, the army medical, the navy and Indian medical services, and for commissions in the army—in proportion to the number of candidates Irish Catholics more than hold their own. Take the House of Commons as it now stands; there is no section in the House that can present such a high average of debating talent as the Home Rule party. In certain circles in Ireland the opinion prevails that the members of this party

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<sup>1</sup> This office is now called Lord-Lieutenancy of a county.



as a whole do not equal the class of ability which would be secured if the political circumstances of the country were normal. It is regarded as a war party. Such a party would have been only hampered by the taste, the knowledge of parliamentary law, and the accomplishments that distinguished the Irish representation before Mr. Parnell introduced a new element. Its value would be in the fact that it was not trammelled by social considerations and traditional usages in pursuing what the late Mr. Butt described as "a policy of exasperation." It is not denied that there are some men in the party now, and one or two out of Parliament, who are equal to their predecessors in everything that constitutes the successful parliamentary man; but, taken as a body, they are not supposed to represent the best elements of Irish Catholic public life. Yet they are superior in debating power, in proportion to their number, to the Tories and Liberals. The men who are considered the best debaters in the House are the First Lord of the Treasury and Sir William Harcourt. Mr. Chamberlain, it is understood, speaks well, but he must select his ground. Mr. Balfour would perhaps admit that there are several Irish members who are prompt to speak on an emergency, and to speak well. It is hard to deny education to such a people, one would think; and yet this really is what is being done by the two parties in the State, though both are committed to the acknowledgment of the grievance and its removal.

It cannot be suggested that this acknowledgment is only a politic pretence of official Tories and official Liberals bidding for Irish Catholic support. It must be remembered that Mr. Gladstone went into power with an unprecedented majority in 1868 to cut down "the three branches of the upas tree" that poisoned the life of the country. One branch was this blight of inferior education from which the majority suffered. The land and the wealth of the country are enjoyed by the Protestant minorities in a very large proportion; yet they possess the educational establishments supported by the State and Trinity College, which is one of the principal landowners in Ireland. Among the Catholics there is a sufficient number of families to supply to a Catholic college of like standing and expense as Trinity College as many students as are on the books of Trinity. This is evident from the number of Catholics who hold the commission of the peace, who belong to the two branches of the legal profession, to the medical profession, who are engaged in commerce, and who hold in their hands large pasture lands, the possession of which necessarily means the command of capital. Its promoters were

the episcopate and the leading laity, who must have well considered the feasibility of the undertaking. The Catholic University was started mainly for such a class. The chairs of the infant institution were filled by men whose works have added to the polite literature and philosophy of the United Kingdom, a by no means unimportant contribution. The hopes of the promoters were defeated, because Government refused even a charter. It was not pressed for an endowment, it was only asked for a license to confer degrees. This was refused, and Sir Robert Peel, as if to mark the policy of the Government, applied to the wealthy Catholics for subscriptions to the Queen's University. Not only would Government not endow and charter a Catholic university, but through him, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, it appealed to Catholics of rank and station for contributions to found scholarships and exhibitions in the Queen's colleges, which, like Sir R. Inglis, an English Tory, they regarded as "godless colleges." This phrase did not arise with Irish Catholics. It was one used by an English Protestant to describe those institutions; but when Irish Catholics refused to avail themselves of the very decided advantages that they offered, it must be supposed that their conscientious objections to the system of education pursued in them were well thought of and firmly rooted. The answer to Sir Robert Peel's circular letter to the leading Catholics was an indignant protest from noblemen and gentlemen in such numbers that it was abundantly clear that that class of Catholics could fill the halls of an university of the social standing of Trinity College. The class for which the Queen's colleges were intended still exists. This consists of the middle and lower grades of the middle class, and forms a numerous and respectable body of Catholics, out of whose ranks many distinguished men have issued, among whom may be mentioned the late Lord O'Hagan, the late Lord Chief Justice Monahan, the late Sir Robert Kane, whose scientific attainments were so exceptionally high that the Government selected him to fill the important place of President of the College of Science, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, at a time that he was President of the Queen's College, Cork, and Sir Dominick Corrigan, whose eminence as a physician had something of the unique character of Scarlet's eminence at the bar of England, and which, perhaps, no one will quite appreciate except an Englishman. Corrigan was not only a leading medical man among others, but he stood aloof from them, on a different plane as it were; and so perfectly was this understood on the Continent of Europe, that to speak of a Dublin medical school in

any French or German university was to elicit an inquiry about Corrigan.

This class is heavily weighted. Four-fifths of the Irish people are Catholics. The Protestant one-fifth may be broadly said to have open to them an university career. They are not only well off themselves as individuals, but they possess all the State endowments for higher education. One-fifth of the population may be loosely said to be Catholics who have means to seek such a career if they had a chartered university, even though not endowed by the State. It would be at a great disadvantage, no doubt, for they would have to pay from their own unaided resources for what Protestants of the wealthiest class obtain in Trinity College partly through a rich endowment and partly through their private means. They would have to pay out of their own pockets for what the Queen's colleges bring within the power of the poorer classes of Protestants. This in the statement of it is a great injustice, but it is not the whole evil. Even with such a Catholic university three-fifths of the population, that is to say the masses of the Catholic people, should be content to remain in a condition of inferiority, every avenue to success in life closed against them.

No one will approve of a view commonly enough put forward that a State endowment putting an university education within the reach of all classes of the people would be fraught with the evil of educating them above their position. It is said that in the National schools the masses of the people receive an education up to their fifteenth year superior in its results to that enjoyed in any country in Europe. If education for the masses is only calculated to make them discontented with their position, why is it carried to that line at which aspirations are created and then doomed to disappointment? Again, why establish a system of intermediate education that covers the period between the fifteenth year and the time for matriculation in an university, and yet keep the university closed to boys who have shown their capacity to reap the best fruits of an university training if they only get the chance? This startling inconsistency can only be explained as an instance of the makeshift character of legislation affecting Ireland. Governments refuse relief as long as they can; then it is found something must be done, and they either give relief of another kind than that sought, or they give so little, and with such a grudging spirit, that the only value is in the admission of a grievance and the title to its relief. This is how the question stands now, seventy years after Emancipation; a hundred and three years after Trinity College was opened to Catholics.



It has been suggested already that the higher education of Catholics is in the same position now as it was in 1794. In a very important respect I submit it is in a worse position. Before 1782 it may be said that the State did not recognize the existence of Catholics. There are some curious judicial dicta to that effect; there are some curious instances of the practical operation of the spirit expressed in those dicta. The Catholic body sent a petition to the Irish House of Commons, praying that their peaceful and law-abiding character would be taken into consideration by the House. They did not ask for the repeal of a single statute of that code which taxed the resources of Edmund Burke's genius to their utmost to describe. This request was characterized as insolent, and members demanded that the document should be flung under the table as waste-paper. On another occasion an address of welcome and congratulation was sent to a new Lord-Lieutenant on entering his office. It raised a storm of indignation in Protestant circles. No reply was sent to the address; though it was signed by Catholic peers and Catholic commoners of great social position.

In the year 1793 the first Catholic Relief Act was passed. It conferred upon the Roman Catholic certain civil rights, together with the political one of voting for the election of a member of Parliament. As a privilege annexed to his status as a partly enfranchised subject, the 13th section enacted that he might take degrees in Trinity College without subscribing any declaration, or taking any oath except the oaths of allegiance and abjuration. In consequence of this, the Crown, in the year 1794, altered the college statutes to enable Catholics to be educated and to receive degrees. It might be contended that from 1794 the Catholics were entitled as of right to larger privileges in this university than the prevailing interpretation of the law allowed them. I do not mean that the exclusively Protestant character given to Trinity College was a violation of the purposes for which it was founded, though this also could be contended; but I mean that it was the intention of the 13th section of the Act of 1793, and the Royal Letter of 1794, to give Catholics a place on the foundation, as foundation scholars, with the privilege, annexed to that rank, of voting for the representatives of the university in Parliament. This right, however, it was decided they had not—that the joint operation of the 13th section of the Act of 1793 and of the Royal Letter of 1794 was to enable them to take degrees, and no more. By Professor Fawcett's Act in 1873, all religious tests and disabilities were abolished, converting Trinity into a secular col-

lege. This was an injury to Episcopal Protestants, but it was an outrage on Irish Catholics; for it went on the assumption that their demand for a denominational university was a pretence; that the agitation was inspired by jealousy at seeing the Protestants in possession of an institution of the kind; and that the hollowness of the movement would be exposed by passing his measure. Of that measure, I may say that I know of none which more effectually proves the inability of Englishmen to understand Irish sentiment, infinite in number and variety as are remedial measures partaking of this character; nay, more, I doubt if there be any Irish measure at all on the imperial statute-book which has not some serious flaw, due to ignorance, prejudice, or contempt, even when Englishmen intended to act fairly.

Mr. Gladstone went into power in 1868 pledged to redress this grievance. He had behind him a phenomenal majority. For years majorities ranged from a half a dozen to twenty-five or thirty. Mr. Gladstone's majority at this time was a hundred and sixteen. He had all Scotland with him; he had an unprecedented majority of the Irish members; and he had the cities and boroughs of England. The English counties stood against the intelligence of England, the resentment of Ireland, the sense of justice of Scotland. Thus, according to the usages of party government, Liberalism is committed to the opinion that the higher education of Irish Catholics is unsatisfactory, or, in the phrase of the great leader of the time, "scandalously bad." He introduced his measure. He was defeated by the Irish members because he persisted in forcing upon them as a settlement of the question a measure which they thought would only aggravate existing evils. The attitude of these men does not change the nature of the grievance. If the opinion of official Liberalism, endorsed by the constituencies, that the condition of higher Catholic education was scandalously bad was correct then, it is not released from the duty of giving effect to it because the representatives of those interested refused a measure which would not have given effect to that opinion. The only way the Liberal party could be released from this duty would be by subsequent legislation that removed the grievance. There has been no such legislation since. No one has ever pretended that Professor Fawcett's Act was a solution. It was an experiment by an amiable and excellent man in embodying his opinion that undenominational education was the only kind the State could recognize. He did this at the expense of the Protestants of Ireland and against the wishes of the Catholics of Ireland.

It might be argued that in converting a Protestant institution into a secular college he more closely carried out the intentions of its founder than the policy which, under the successors of Elizabeth, made Trinity College a bulwark of Protestantism. We doubt, however, that he had any such idea. We doubt that he possessed the knowledge which might have suggested the idea. It is quite true that in all the documents Elizabeth and her advisers spoke of establishing a college for the youth of Ireland, that there was no mention of the Protestant youth, that funds were asked from the Catholics for endowment, that the Catholics subscribed for its endowment with far greater generosity than any other merely private benefactors. A large proportion of those private gifts came from men whose estates, eighteen or twenty years afterwards, were given to Scotch adventurers under the Plantation of Ulster. Among the subscribers we find Ulster names, like O'Neil, Maguire, Maginnis, as we find Catholic names of the Pale, like Plunket, Taafe, Tyrrell, Nugent, as persons to whom the letter of the Lord Deputy and Council calling for grants of land or gifts of money was addressed ; and so it might be reasonably contended that the Act in question really, at the close of three centuries, effected what Elizabeth intended. We do not think any Catholic would favor this view. It is immaterial now what Elizabeth intended—whether the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam's letter just referred to is the *contemporanea exposition* of the words in the Charter—“*colendamque virtutem et religionem adjuventur*”—or not. It is enough that the whole rule of the institution since 1592 until 1794 was an illustration of the propriety and consistency of a policy which refused education to men to whom it denied civil rights. But it is not immaterial that Irish Protestants should think that the character of the great foundation with which so much personal fame and national glory are identified should be degraded from the status of a Christian college, and that Irish Catholics should be thought a party to the dishonor. We think every Irish Catholic regretted that it was de-Christianized, and that so important a part of the youth of Ireland should be so circumstanced as to be led to believe that religion was of less consequence than gold medals in science or classics, English literature or history. Catholics would have no hand in lessening reverence for those precepts and principles in which their Protestant fellow-countrymen found a guide in life and a support in death. They protest against the Act by which an English doctrinaire in politics and secularist in education succeeded in depriving Irish Protestants of the advantages of a religious education, and at the same time



they decline to accept it in discharge of the obligations due by the Liberal party to themselves.

The Tory party is also committed to the settlement of the question. They are bound by their own principles to afford to religion at least a resting-place in the highest schools, as they have secured its due authority in the primary schools. Whatever difficulties there may be in arranging the details by which this shall be secured are due to external and hostile influences, and in no small manner to the officious legislation of which we have just spoken. There is no inherent difficulty in the matter; there is no constitutional principle opposed to it. It has only to contend against the weight of certain theories by which many Nonconformist clergymen and agnostic teachers profess to secure political harmony by banishing religion from the State, and against the force of old local prejudices which did untold evil in the past, which seem to be as strong in Ulster and other backwood parts to-day as when it was made a felony to educate a Catholic, or when a meeting of Catholics for worship on some hillside was broken up with more than the fury which earned for Claverhouse, among Scotch Covenanters, a name with the worst enemies of the human race.

The Tory party is also bound by its admission in introducing the bill to create the Royal University of Ireland. We need not go farther than this. So far as Mr. Balfour can be said to represent the views of official Toryism, that party seems bound to support the idea of a Catholic university. At any rate, the measure introduced by Earl Cairns in 1879, and which became law, expresses the judgment of that party that the Catholics of Ireland had a grievance with regard to higher education. The establishment of a mere examining board, and this is what the Royal University is, is not the creation of an university. The association of students in the enlarged life open to them by a great seat of learning is the main value they receive in an university, but it is an enormous value. For the want of it nothing can compensate. Private study under a tutor in one's home may make some men well-informed and studious, will be certain to make some prigs, will make the majority, unless circumstances are peculiarly favorable, idle or dull, angular-minded or unready. He who is not a learned clown will be a local oracle, from whom conceit radiates as offensively as the stubborn pride which went out from Scotchmen when first they condescended to earn money in England or Ireland; or if he be not spoiled he will be a man with some general but no accurate knowledge of any kind. No doubt men privately trained have become successful lawyers and made their mark in Parliament, but it was when society's conflict, the pounding of

necessity, did for them what an university would have done at first. The way, then, the examining board discharges the functions of an university is this : certain colleges, in reality boarding-schools, like Clongowes and the French college, Blackrock, have classes for matriculation at the Royal University, for sessional examinations and for the degrees. No one would dream of comparing with Trinity College the preparatory schools just mentioned ; in the comparatively large life of an university like that of Dublin the pulse of cultured life from all quarters is felt. Parliament is echoed in the Historical Society, that nursery of eloquence which first heard the boyish political philosophy of Burke, where Grattan essayed the epigrammatic sentences which in after years became the mould of a more than mortal energy, where Curran disciplined the wild sadness and as wild laughter of which his eloquence consists, at whose meetings Plunket first marshalled the arguments which served as the method for that inexorable logic which distinguished him in Chancery and in the House of Commons ; and so on through a list of names that unite Trinity to Ireland and both to fame. To an university like this, the learned societies of the world, the great schools of science, the universities that combine the most recent investigation in the exact and natural sciences with the most scholarly communication of its results—to such an university all these send messages of encouragement and receive such messages in return, all of them forming golden links of the chain which puts an Ariel's girdle round the earth. The policy of Earl Cairns, which would treat those Catholic boarding-schools and small Protestant schools as parts of an university, serving by means of an examining board the functions which we have feebly endeavored to describe, must have been inspired by that kind of humor which prevails in Ulster and Scotland, and which is hardly distinguishable from practical joking.

His measure has not advanced the question one iota. It was adopted as testimony of the universal assent that a grievance existed, and, in pursuance of speeches of the strongest kind by members of his own party, that the redress and remedy should be searching. It professed to grant educational equality ; it only enlarged the already exceptional privileges of Protestants. It is hard to understand how that Ministry and Earl Cairns could have pretended to themselves that they were making even an attempt to adjust the balance between those who think religious education a necessity and those who are content with secular education when they left all the establishments then existing—Trinity College and the Queen's colleges, with their equipments, libraries, staffs of pro-

fessors and immense endowments—to the secularists, and created a board to grant degrees to these same secularists and to those who had sacrificed so much in order to obtain religious instruction.

The demand of the Irish Catholics is still unsatisfied, nay, untouched. Before the measure of Lord Cairns and the Tory Ministry established this board under the title of the Royal University of Ireland, Irish students could have obtained degrees on the same conditions from a similar board called London University. It was not necessary to go to London for the purpose. They could pass their examinations at their own homes, or at least in central places in Ireland, whither the examiners were sent by the university. Consequently, this measure gave nothing; yet abortive as it is, insulting as it is, it is the contribution of a party pledged to religious education, to the satisfying of the demands of men who have proved their fidelity to principle, their obedience to the claims of conscience. By turning away from the great revenues, the splendid prizes of Trinity and the Queen's colleges, they proved that they were faithful to principle, loyal to conscience. The loss to nearly five generations of students since that measure received the royal assent is a shadow upon the life of many who have scrambled through these examinations with the training derived from an incomplete apparatus; it is a deeper shadow still on the many who could not avail themselves even of an incomplete apparatus. From 1829 to 1879 no advance was made. The Catholic sought degrees in an alien atmosphere, and with deadly peril to his faith, unless his religious convictions were exceptionally strong. We do not mean necessarily that he would have become a member of the State religion, though many have given up, under this form of seduction, the creed for which their fathers had suffered every extreme of torture. But he was liable to lose the all-pervading sense of religion as the relation between God and man, and the dogmas of faith as the specific statements of those relations. We see no reason why Catholics in Ireland in constant contact with a philosophy which was calculated to disturb the foundations of belief, with a history which misrepresented Catholic thought expressed in ecclesiastical policy or Catholic sentiment and opinion expressed in great movements of men, whether in one particular country or in a course of action said to be in pursuance of such thought on the part of a Catholic nation toward a nation not Catholic—we see no reason why there should not be ground to fear that any Irish Catholic might become skeptical on topics of this kind like a French one, anti-Catholic like some Irish ones, who have done in Parlia-



ment, on the bench, and at the bar, the service of political janizaries for the enemies of their faith.

The question must be solved. Refusals, evasions, substitutes cannot be the eternal order of the day. The better the question is understood the stronger the claim of Irish Catholics will be. With an insolence one could hardly anticipate, secularists say if they want a Catholic university they must endow it themselves, and at the same time pay taxes for secular education. Yet the same secularists used their influence to prevent a bare license for degrees from being granted to the Catholic University in St. Stephen's Green. The Presbyterians have a practical monopoly of the Queen's colleges, yet with the bitter jealousy of a disappointed faction they oppose the design of granting a similar privilege to Catholics. But what of the opposition from those two sources! Presbyterian bitterness is not a power with a long term. Its genesis is disappointment because the Catholics who have borne the heat and burden of the fight against the Irish Tories demanded a share in the spoils when victory was obtained. At the first opportunity the Presbyterians joined the common enemy, but there are already signs that they are disposed to return to the fold. With the secularists the same weakness of spirit is becoming apparent. There was evidence of it on a branch of this question at the last election and since. The denominationalists obtained support from an unexpected quarter from a class of thinkers and their friends whose purity of motive and range of culture make their alliance, if not strong in numbers, rich in repute. We speak of the Positivists, who, as we understand, have gone the entire length in support of a system of education in the lower grades certainly, in the higher grades probably, beyond which no Irish Catholic need proceed. As for the rest of the secularists—whose politics are Liberal—if they desire to see social reforms upon which they have set their hearts, political measures which will give intelligence a fair field against prestige, or, in other words, secularism give a fair field against the Established Church and the landed influence, they must court the Irish Catholics, without whom there can be no Liberal triumph at the polls.

We are, therefore, of opinion that the measure now contemplated should be a sufficient expression of Catholic needs, that security for the moral and religious training of the youth should be ample, and that the present time will be found a ripe one to remove an injustice which countless centuries can no more repair than they could efface the ills which have made lives miserable ever since men had power over their fellows.

GEO. McDERMOT.

## MUSIC IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

A.D. 50-600.

THE epoch of the apostles and their immediate successors is that around which the most vigorous controversies have been waged ever since modern criticism recognized the supreme importance of that epoch in the history of doctrine and ecclesiastical government. Hardly a form of belief or polity but has sought to obtain its sanction from the teaching and usages of those churches that received their systems most directly from the personal disciples of the Founder. A curiosity less productive of contention, but hardly less persistent, attaches to the forms and methods of worship practised by the Christian congregations. The rise of liturgies, rites, and ceremonies, the origin and use of hymns, the foundation of the liturgical chant, the degree of participation enjoyed by the laity in the offices of praise and prayer,—these and many other closely related subjects of inquiry possess far more than an antiquarian interest; they are bound up with the history of that remarkable transition from the homogenous, more democratic system of the apostolic age, to the hierarchical organization which became matured and consolidated under the western popes and eastern patriarchs. Associated with this administrative development and related in its causes, an elaborate system of rites and ceremonies arose, partly an evolution from within, partly an inheritance of ancient habits and predispositions, which at last became formulated into unvarying types of devotional expression. Music participated in this ritualistic movement; it rapidly became liturgical and clerical, the laity ceased to share in the worship of song and resigned this office to a chorus drawn from the minor clergy, and a highly organized body of chants, applied to every moment of the service, became almost the entire substance of worship-music, and remained so for a thousand years.

The music of the Church, however, never became entirely stationary. Slowly, for centuries, almost imperceptibly, it steadily expanded. Doctrines, liturgies and ceremonies could become fixed and stationary, but Christian song never showed a tendency to harden or contract. It contained in itself the promise and potency of life. In the very nature of the case a new energy must enter the art of music when enlisted in the ministry of the religion

of Christ. A new motive, a new spirit, unknown to Greek or Roman, or even to Hebrew, had taken possession of the religious consciousness. To the adoration of the same Supreme Power, before whom the Jew bowed in awe-stricken reverence, was added the recognition of a gift which the Jew still dimly hoped for; and this gift brought with it an assurance, and hence a felicity, which were never granted to the religionist of the old dispensation. The Christian felt himself the chosen joint-heir of a risen and ascended Lord, who by his death and resurrection had brought life and immortality to light. The devotion to a personal, ever-living Saviour transcended and often supplanted all other loyalty whatsoever,—to country, parents, husband, wife or child. This religion was, therefore, emphatically one of joy—a joy so absorbing, so completely satisfying, so founded on the loftiest hopes that the human mind is able to entertain, that even the ecstatic worship of Apollo or Dionysios seems melancholy and hopeless in comparison. Yet it was not a joy that was prone to expend itself in noisy demonstrations. It was mingled with such a profound sense of personal unworthiness and the most solemn responsibilities, tempered with sentiments of awe and wonder in the presence of unfathomable mysteries, that the manifestations of it must be subdued to moderation, expressed in forms that could appropriately typify spiritual and eternal relationships. And so, as sculpture was the art which most adequately embodied the humanistic conception of Greek theology, poetry and music became the arts in which Christianity found a vehicle of expression most suited to her genius. These two arts, therefore, when acted upon by ideas so sublime and penetrating as those of the Gospel, must at last become transformed, and exhibit signs of a renewed and aspiring activity. The very essence of the divine revelation in Jesus Christ must strike a more thrilling note than tone and emotional speech had ever sounded before. The genius of Christianity, opening up new soul-depths, and quickening, as no other religion could, the higher possibilities of holiness in man, was especially adapted to evoke larger manifestations of musical invention. The religion of Jesus revealed God in the universality of His fatherhood, and His omnipresence in nature and in the human conscience. God must be worshipped in spirit and in truth, as one who draws men into communion with Him by His immediate action upon the heart. This religion made an appeal that could only be met by the purification of the heart, and by reconciliation and union with God through the merits of the crucified Son. The believer, therefore, felt the possibility of direct and loving communion with the Infinite Power as the stirring of the



very bases of his being. This new consciousness must declare itself in forms of expression hardly glimpsed by antiquity, and literature and art undergo re-birth. Music particularly, the art which seems peculiarly capable of reflecting the most urgent longings of the spirit, felt the animating force of Christianity as the power which was to emancipate it from its ancient thralldom and lead it forth into a boundless sphere of action.

Not at once, however, could musical art spring up full grown and responsive to these novel demands. An art, to come to perfection, requires more than a motive. The motive, the vision, the emotion yearning to realize itself, may be there, but beyond this is the mastery of material and form, and such mastery is of slow and tedious growth. Especially is this true in respect to the art of music; new musical forms, having no models in nature like painting and sculpture, no associative symbolism like poetry, no guidance from considerations of utility like architecture, must be the result, so far as any human work can be such, of actual free creation. And yet this creation is a progressive creation; its forms evolve from forms pre-existing as demands for expression arise to which the old are inadequate. Models must be found, but in the nature of the case the art can never go outside of itself for its suggestion. And although Christian music must be a development and not the sudden product of an exceptional inspiration, yet we must not suppose that the early church was compelled to work out its melodies from those crude elements in which anthropology discovers the first stage of musical progress in primitive man. The Christian fathers, like the founders of every historic system of religious music, drew their material from both religious and secular sources. The forms on which the music of modern Christendom is based were in their origin and style simply the projection of the antique musical system into the new era. The principle of ancient music was that of the subordination of music—subordination to poetry and the dance-figure. It never broke entirely loose from this subjection. Harmony was virtually unknown in antiquity, and without a knowledge of part-writing no independent art of music is possible. The song of antiquity was the most restricted of all melodic styles, viz., the chant or recitative. The essential feature of both chant and recitative is that the tones are made to conform to the metre and accent of the text, the words of which are never repeated or prosodically modified out of deference to melodic phrases and periods. In true song, on the contrary, the words are subordinated to the exigencies of musical laws of structure, and the phrase, not the word, is the ruling power. The

principle adopted by the Christian fathers was that of the chant, and Christian music could not begin to move in the direction of modern artistic attainment until, in the course of time, a new technical principle, and a new conception of the relation between music and poetry, could be introduced.

In theory, style, usage, and undoubtedly in actual melodies also, the music of the primitive Church forms an unbroken line with the music of pre-Christian antiquity. The relative proportion contributed by Jewish and Greek musical practice cannot be known. There was at the beginning no formal break with the ancient Jewish Church; the disciples assembled regularly in the temple for devotional exercises; worship in their private gatherings was modeled upon that of the synagogue which Christ himself had implicitly sanctioned. The synagogal code was modified by the Christians by the introduction of the eucharistic service, the Lord's Prayer, the baptismal formula, and other institutions occasioned by the new doctrines and the "spiritual gifts." At Christ's last supper with His disciples, when the chief liturgical rite of the Church was instituted, the company sang a hymn which was unquestionably the "great Hallel" of the Jewish Passover celebration.<sup>1</sup> The Jewish Christians clung with an inherited reverence to the venerable forms of their fathers' worship, they observed the Sabbath, the three daily hours of prayer, and much of the Mosaic ritual. In respect to musical usages, the most distinct intimation in early records of the continuation of ancient forms is found in the occasional reference to the habit of antiphonal or responsive chanting of the Psalms. Fixed forms of prayer were also used in the apostolic Church, which were to a considerable extent modeled upon the Psalms and the Benedictions of the synagogue ritual. That the Hebrew melodies were borrowed at the same time cannot be demonstrated, but it may be assumed as a necessary inference.

With the spread of the Gospel among the Gentiles, the increasing hostility between Christians and Jews, the dismemberment of the Jewish nationality, and the overthrow of Jewish institutions to which the Hebrew Christians had maintained a certain degree of attachment, the influence of the Jewish ritual passed away, and the worship of the Church came under the influence of Hellenic systems and traditions. Greek philosophy and Greek art, although both in decadence, were dominant in the intellectual life of the East, and it was impossible that the doctrine, worship, and gov-

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<sup>1</sup> Ps., 113-118.

ernment of the Church should not have been gradually leavened by them. St. Paul wrote in the Greek language, the earliest liturgies are in Greek. The sentiment of prayer and praise was, of course, Hebraic; the Psalms formed the basis of all lyric expression, and the hymns and liturgies were to a large extent colored by their phraseology and spirit. The shapeliness and flexibility of Greek art, the inward fervor of Hebrew aspiration, the love of ceremonial and symbolism, which was not confined to any single nation but a universal characteristic of the time, all contributed to build up the composite and imposing structure of the later worship of the Eastern and Western Churches.

The singing of Psalms formed a part of the Christian worship from the beginning, and certain special Psalms were early appointed for particular days and occasions. At what time hymns of contemporary origin were added we have no means of knowing. Evidently during the life of St. Paul, for we find him encouraging the Ephesians and Colossians to the use of "psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs."<sup>1</sup> To be sure he is not specifically alluding to public worship in these exhortations (in the first instance "speaking to yourselves" and "singing and making melody in your hearts," in the second "teaching and admonishing one another"), but it is hardly to be supposed that the spiritual exercise of which he speaks would be excluded from the religious services which at that time were of daily observance. The injunction to teach and admonish by means of songs also agrees with other evidences that a prime motive for hymn-singing in many of the churches was instruction in the doctrines of the faith. It would appear that among the early Christians, as with the Greeks and other ancient nations, moral precepts and instruction in religious mysteries were often thrown into poetic and musical form, as being by this means more impressive and more easily remembered.

It is to be noticed that St. Paul, in both the passages cited above, alludes to religious songs under three distinct terms, viz. : *ψαλμοι*, *ὕμνοι*, and *ᾠδαὶ πνευματικαί*. The usual supposition is that the terms are not synonymous, that they refer to a threefold classification of the songs of the early Church into: 1, the ancient Hebrew Psalms properly so called; 2, hymns taken from the Old Testament and not included in the Psalter and since called Canticles, such as the thanksgiving of Hannah, the songs of Moses, the Psalm of the Three Children from the continuation of the Book of Daniel, the vision of Habakkuk, etc.; and, 3, songs

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<sup>1</sup> Eph., v., 19; Col., iii., 16.



composed by the Christians themselves. The last of these three classes points us to the birth-time of Christian hymnody. The lyric inspiration, which has never failed from that day to this, began to move the instant the proselyting work of the Church began. In the freedom and informality of the religious assembly as it existed among the Hellenic Christians, it became the practice for the believers to contribute impassioned outbursts—which might be called songs in a rudimentary state. In moments of highly-charged devotional ecstasy this spontaneous utterance took the form of broken, incoherent, unintelligible ejaculations, probably in cadenced, half-rhythmic tone, expressive of rapture and mystical illumination. This was the “glossolalia,” or “gift of tongues” alluded to by St. Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians as a practice to be approved, under certain limitations, as edifying to the believers.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Schaff defines the gift of tongues as “an utterance proceeding from a state of unconscious ecstasy in the speaker, and unintelligible to the hearer unless interpreted. The speaking with tongues is an involuntary, psalm-like prayer or song uttered from a spiritual trance, in a peculiar language inspired by the Holy Spirit. The soul is almost entirely passive, an instrument on which the Spirit plays his heavenly melodies.” “It is emotional rather than intellectual, the language of excited imagination, not of cool reflection.”<sup>2</sup> St. Paul was himself an adept in this singular form of worship, as he himself declares in 1 Cor. xiv., 18; but with his habitual coolness of judgment he warns the excitable Corinthian Christians that sober instruction is more profitable, that the proper end of all utterance in common public worship is edification, and enjoins as an effective restraint that “if any man speaketh in a tongue, let one interpret; but if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the Church; and let him speak to himself and to God.”<sup>3</sup> With the regulation of the worship in stated liturgic form this extemporaneous ebullition of feeling was done away, but if it was analogous, as it probably was, to the practice so common in Oriental vocal music, both ancient and modern, of delivering long wordless tonal flourishes as an expression of joy, then it has in a certain sense survived in the “jubilations” of the Catholic liturgical chant, which in the early middle ages were more extended than now. Chappell finds traces of a practice somewhat similar to the “jubilations” existing in ancient Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor., xii. and xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, I., p. 234 f; p. 435.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor., xiv., 27, 28.

"This practice of carolling or singing without words, like birds, to the gods, was copied by the Greeks, who seemed to have carolled on four vowels. The vowels had probably, in both cases, some recognized meaning attached to them, as substitutes for certain words of praise—as was the case when the custom was transferred to the Western Church."<sup>1</sup> This may or may not throw light upon the obscure nature of the glossolalia, but it is not to be supposed that the Corinthian Christians invented this custom, since we find traces of it in the worship of the ancient pagan nations, and so far as it was the unrestrained outburst of emotion it must have been to some extent musical, and only needed regulation and the application of a definite key-system to become, like the mediæval sequence under somewhat similar conditions, an established order of sacred song.

Out of a musical impulse, of which the glossolalia was one of many tokens, united with the spirit of prophecy or instruction, grew the hymns of the infant Church, dim outlines of which begin to appear in the twilight of this obscure period. The worshippers of Christ could not remain content with the Hebrew Psalms, for, in spite of their inspiriting and edifying character, they were not concerned with the facts on which the new faith was based, except in prefiguring the later dispensation. Hymns were required in which Christ was directly celebrated, and the apprehension of His infinite gifts embodied in language which would both fortify the believers and act as a converting agency. It would be contrary to all analogy and to the universal facts of human nature if such were not the case, and we may suppose that a Christian folk-song, such as the post-apostolic age reveals to us, must have begun to appear in the first century. Some scholars believe that certain of these primitive hymns, or fragments of them, are embalmed in the Epistles of St. Paul and the Book of the Revelation.<sup>2</sup> The magnificent description of the worship of God and the Lamb in the Apocalypse has been supposed by some to have been suggested by the manner of worship, already become liturgical, in some of the Eastern churches. Certainly there is a manifest resemblance between the picture of one sitting upon the throne with the twenty-four elders and a multitude of angels surrounding him, as set forth in the Apocalypse, and the account given in the second book of the Constitutions of the Apostles of the throne of the bishop in the middle of the church edifice, with the pres-

<sup>1</sup> Chappell, *History of Music*, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Among such supposed quotations are: Eph. v., 14; 1 Tim. iii., 16; 2 Tim. ii., 11; Rev. iv., 11; v., 9-13; xi., 15-18; xv., 3-4.

byters and deacons on each side and the laity beyond. In this second book of the Constitutions, belonging, of course, to a later date than the apostolic period, there is no mention of hymn-singing. The share of the people is confined to responses at the end of the verses of the Psalms, which are sung by some one appointed to this office.<sup>1</sup> The sacerdotal and liturgical movement had already excluded from the chief acts of worship the independent song of the people. Those who assume that the office of song in the early church was freely committed to the general body of believers have some ground for their assumption, but if we are able to distinguish between the private and public worship, and could know how early it was that set forms and liturgies were adopted, it would appear that at the longest the time was very brief when the laity were allowed a share in any but the subordinate offices. The earliest testimony that can be called definite is contained in the celebrated letter of the younger Pliny from Bithynia to the Emperor Trajan, in the year 112, in which the Christians are described as coming together before daylight and singing hymns alternately (*invicem*) to Christ. This may with some reason be held to refer to responsive or antiphonal singing, similar to that described by Philo in his account of the worship of the Jewish sect of the Therapeutæ in the first century. The tradition was long preserved in the Church that Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch in the second century, introduced antiphonal chanting into the churches of that city, having been moved thereto by a vision of angels singing in that manner. But we have only to go back to the worship of the ancient Hebrews for the suggestion of this practice. This alternate singing appears to have been most prevalent in the Syrian churches, and was carried thence to Milan and Rome, and through the usage in these cities established in the permanent habit of the Western Church.

Although the singing of Psalms and hymns by the body of worshippers was, therefore, undoubtedly the custom of the churches while still in their primitive condition as informal assemblages of believers for mutual counsel and edification, the steady progress of ritualism and the growth of sacerdotal ideas inevitably deprived the people of all initiative in the worship, and concentrated the offices of public devotion, including that of song, exclusively in the hands of the clergy. By the middle of the fourth century, if not earlier, the change was complete. The simple constitution of the apostolic age had developed by logical gradations into a com-

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<sup>1</sup> *Constitutions of the Apostles*, book ii., cop. 57.



pact hierarchy of patriarchs, bishops, priests and deacons. The clergy were no longer the servants or representatives of the people, but held a mediatorial position as the channels through which divine grace was transmitted to the faithful. The great Eastern liturgies, such as those which bear the names of St. James and St. Mark, if not yet fully formulated and committed to writing, were in all essentials complete and adopted as the substance of the public worship. The principal service was divided into two parts, from the second of which, the Eucharistic service proper, the catechumens and penitents were excluded. The prayers, readings and chanted sentences, of which the liturgy mainly consisted, were delivered by priests, deacons, and an officially-constituted choir of singers, the congregation uniting only in a few responses and ejaculations. In the liturgy of St. Mark, which was the Alexandrian, used in Egypt and neighboring countries, we find allotted to the people a number of responses: "Amen," "Kyrie eleison," "And to Thy spirit" (in response to the priest's "Peace be to all"); "We lift them up to the Lord" (in response to the priest's "Let us lift up our hearts"); and "In the name of the Lord; Holy God, holy mighty, holy immortal," after the prayer of Trisagion; "And from the Holy Spirit was He made flesh," after the prayer of oblation; "Holy, holy, holy Lord," before the consecration; "Our Father, who art in heaven," etc.; before the communion, "One Father holy, one Son holy, one Spirit holy, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, Amen"; at the dismissal, "Amen, blessed be the name of the Lord."

In the liturgy of St. James, the liturgy of the Jerusalem Church, a very similar share, in many instances with identical words, is assigned to the people; but a far more frequent mention is made of the choir of singers who render the Trisagion hymn, which, in St. Mark's liturgy, is given by the people: the "Allelulia"; the hymn to the Virgin Mother; "O taste and see that the Lord is good; The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee."

A large portion of the service, as indicated by these liturgies, was occupied by prayers, during which the people kept silence. In the matter of responses the congregation had more direct share than in the Catholic Church to-day, for now the chancel-choir acts as their representatives, while the Kyrie eleison has become one of the choral portions of the Mass, and the Thrice Holy has been merged in the choral Sanctus. But in the liturgical worship, whatever may have been the case in non-liturgical observances, the share of the people was confined to these few brief ejaculations and

prescribed sentences, and nothing corresponding to the congregational song of the Protestant Church can be found. Still earlier than this final issue of the ritualistic conception the singing of the people was limited to Psalms and canticles, a restriction justified and perhaps occasioned by the ease with which doctrinal vagaries and mystical extravagances could be instilled into the minds of the converts by means of this very subtle and persuasive agent. The conflict of the orthodox churches with the Gnostics and Arians showed clearly the danger of unlimited license in the production and singing of hymns, for these formidable heretics drew large numbers away from the faith of the apostles by means of the choral songs which they employed everywhere for proselyting purposes. The Council of Laodicea (held between 343 and 381) decreed in its 13th Canon: "Besides the appointed singers, who mount the ambo and sing from the book, others shall not sing in the church."<sup>1</sup> The exact meaning of this prohibition has not been determined, for the participation of the people in the church song did not entirely cease at this time. How generally representative this council was, or how extensive its authority, is not not known; but the importance of this decree has been exaggerated by historians of music, for, at most, it serves only as a register of a fact which was an inevitable consequence of the universal hierarchical and ritualistic tendencies of the time.

The history of the music of the Christian Church properly begins with the establishment of the priestly liturgic chant, which had apparently supplanted the popular song in the public worship as early as the fourth century. Of the character of the chant-melodies at this period in the Eastern Church, or of their sources, we have no positive information. Much vain conjecture has been expended on this question. Some are persuaded that the strong infusion of Hebraic feeling and phraseology into the earliest hymns, and the adoption of the Hebrew Psalter into the service, necessarily implies the inheritance of the ancient temple and synagogue melodies also. Others assume that the allusion of St. Augustine to the usage at Alexandria under St. Athanasius, which was "more like speaking than singing,"<sup>2</sup> was an example of the practice of the Oriental and Roman Churches generally, and that the latter chant developed out of this vague song-speech.<sup>3</sup> Others, like Kiesewetter, exaggerating the antipathy of the Christians to

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<sup>1</sup> Hefele, *History of the Councils of the Church*, translated by Oxenham, vol. ii., p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> St. Augustine, *Confessions*.

<sup>3</sup> Rowbotham, *History of Music*, vol. iii., p. 89 *seq.*

everything identified with Judaism and paganism, conceive the primitive Christian melodies as entirely an original invention, a true Christian folk-song.<sup>1</sup> None of these suppositions, however, could have more than a local and temporary application; the Jewish Christian congregations in Jerusalem and neighboring cities doubtless transferred a few of their ancestral melodies to the new worship, a prejudice against highly developed tune suggesting the sensuous cults of paganism may have existed among the more austere; here and there new melodies may have sprung up to clothe the extemporized lyrics that became perpetuated in the Church. But the weight of evidence, inference and analogy inclines to the belief that the liturgic song of the Church, both of the East and West, was drawn partly in form and almost wholly in spirit and complexion from the Greek and Greco-Roman musical practice. Such an origin for the Roman chant has been quite conclusively shown by the investigations of the Belgian savant, Gevaert;<sup>2</sup> and since the Hellenic influence was so strong in the churches of the West, it must needs have been equally so in the churches of Greece and Asia Minor. And it was the more simple, refined and moderate phases of Greek music, together with the noble traditions of the classic age, that passed into the Christian sanctuary, dying paganism thus contributing of its last breath to swell the life that was to regenerate the world. As Schletterer correctly says: "The music of Christendom borrowed from that of the Hebrews its pious religious content; from that of the Greeks its form, structure and beauty." The Greeks stood far above all other nations of antiquity in their love for music; in their conception of its possibilities as an independent art; in the freedom, grace and expressiveness of their melody; in the taste and appropriateness with which they connected it with their most elevated religious, patriotic and festal observances. The Oriental nations loved best instruments of coarse and clangorous sound, nerve excitants, the clashing cymbal, the braying trumpet and jingling tambourine; the sacred instruments of the Greek, on the contrary, were the lyre of Apollo and the Dorian flute. The Greek's exquisite sense of proportion and symmetry, his abhorrence of violence and excess, his matchless appreciation of reason and order, of the beauty that lies in perfect adjustment of parts and delicacy of finish, his noble reserve and balance of emotion and expression—all this was as manifest in his music as in his

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<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der europaisch-abendlandischen Musik*, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *La Mélodie antique dans le Chant de l'Eglise Latine*.



poetry, his sculpture and his architecture. Music was the hand-maid of poetry ; it blended with epic, lyric and dramatic expression into an exquisite and inseparable unity. It was the fair counterpart of that most subtle, flexible, precise and harmonious of all forms of human speech, the Attic Greek, and it shared in all the reverence and study that were bestowed upon that paragon of languages. It doubtless grew out of that language in its early estate, and both together attained their ripeness in the Athenian tragedy of the Periclean age. It shared all the rhythmic variety and suppleness of the Lesbian, Theban and Cean lyric and the Athenian dramatic ode, and found its special means of expression in the mingled intensity and billowy swing of contrasted metres and the finest shades of intonation and tonal color. Harmony the Greeks knew, if at all, only in its simplest relations. Simplicity and clearness marked all their art ; music was designed to heighten the effect of poetic speech ; its metre was controlled by that of the verse ; song was intoned recitation ; the text was paramount, and must not be obscured even for the attainment of melodic beauty. Within this limit the Greek music was the most perfect form of vocal utterance which antiquity ever devised ; and the Christians, who had no thought of a system of independent music with laws of its own, could find no style of music better adapted to their needs than that form derived from old Greek practice which they heard around them. That it was associated with pagan religious systems did not condemn it in their eyes. But scanty knowledge of Christian archæology and liturgics is necessary to show that much of form, ceremony and decoration in the worship of the Church was the adaptation of features anciently existing in the faiths and customs which the new religion supplanted. The practical genius which adopted Greek metres for Christian hymns, and transformed basilikas, scholæ and heathen temples (often with monuments, votive tablets, etc., unmolested) into Christian houses of worship, would not cavil at the melodies and vocal methods which seemed so well suited to be a musical garb for the liturgies. Greek music was, indeed, in some of its phases, in decadence at this period. It had gained nothing in purity by passing into the hands of Roman voluptuaries. The age of the virtuosos, aiming at brilliancy and sensationalism, had succeeded to the classic traditions of austerity and reserve. This change was felt, however, in instrumental music chiefly, and this the Christian churches disdained to touch. It was the residue of what was pure and reverend, drawn from the tradition of Apollo's temple and the Athenian tragic theatre ; it was the form of vocalism which austere

philosophers like Plutarch praised<sup>1</sup> that was drafted into the service of the Gospel. Perhaps even this was reduced to simple terms in the Christian practice ; certainly the oldest chants that can be traced are the simplest, and the earliest scale system of the Italian church would appear to allow but a very narrow compass to melody. We can form our most accurate notion of the early Christian music, therefore, by studying the records of Greek practice and Greek views of music's nature and function in the time of the flowering of Greek poetry, for certainly the Christian fathers did not attempt to go beyond that ; and perhaps, in their zeal to avoid all that was meretricious in tonal art, they adopted as their standard those phases which could most easily be made to coalesce with the inward and humble type of piety inculcated by the faith of the Gospel. This hypothesis does not imply a note-for-note-borrowing of Greek and Roman melodies, but only their adaptation. As Luther and the other founders of the music of the German Protestant Church borrowed melodies from the Catholic chant and the German and Bohemian religious and secular folk-song, and recast them to fit the metres of their hymns, so the early Christian choristers would naturally be moved to do with the melodies which they desired to transplant. Much modification was necessary ; for while the Greek and Roman songs were metrical, the Christian psalms, antiphons, prayers, responses, etc., were unmetrical ; and while the pagan melodies were always sung to an instrumental accompaniment, the church chant was exclusively vocal. Through the influence of this double change of technical and æsthetic basis, the liturgic song was at once more free, aspiring and varied than its prototype, taking on that rhythmic flexibility and delicate shading in which also the unique charm of the Catholic chant of the present day so largely consists.

In view of the controversies over the use of instrumental music in worship, which have been so violent in the British and American Protestant churches, it is an interesting question whether or not instruments were employed by the primitive Christians. We know that instruments performed an important function in the Hebrew temple service and in the ceremonies of the Greeks. At this point, however, a break was made with all previous practice, and although the lyre and flute were sometimes employed by the Greek converts, as a general rule the use of instruments in worship was condemned. Many of the fathers, speaking of religious

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<sup>1</sup> For the high ideal of Greek music surviving in the decline of Greek practice, see Plutarch's dissertation concerning music in his *Morals*.

song, make no mention of instruments ; others, like Clement of Alexandria and St. Chrysostom, refer to them only to denounce them. Clement says : " Only one instrument do we use, viz., the word of peace wherewith we honor God, no longer the old psaltery, trumpet, drum and flute." Chrysostom exclaims : " David formerly sang in psalms, also we sing to-day with him ; he had a lyre with lifeless strings, the Church has a lyre with living strings. Our tongues are the strings of the lyre, with a different tone, indeed, but with a more accordant piety." St. Ambrose expresses his scorn for those who would play the lyre and psaltery instead of singing hymns and psalms ; and St. Augustine adjures believers not to turn their hearts to theatrical instruments. The religious guides of the early Christians felt that there would be no incongruity, and even profanity, in the use of the sensuous nerve-exciting effects of instrumental sound in their mystical, spiritual worship ; their high religious and moral enthusiasm needed no aid from external stimulus. The pure vocal utterance was the more proper expression of their faith. This prejudice against instrumental music, which was drawn from the very nature of its æsthetic impression, was fortified by the associations of instruments with superstitious pagan rites, and especially with the corrupting scenes habitually represented in the degenerate theatre and circus. " A Christian maiden," says St. Jerome, " ought not even to know what a lyre or a flute is, or what it is used for." No further justification for such prohibitions is needed than the descriptions of the shameless performances common upon the stage in the time of the Roman empire as portrayed in the pages of Apuleius and other delineators of the manners of the time. Those who assumed the guardianship of the morals of the little Christian communities were compelled to employ the strictest measures to prevent their charges from breathing the moral pestilence which circulated without check in the places of public amusement ; most of all must they insist that every reminder of these corruptions, be it an otherwise innocent harp or flute, should be excluded from the common acts of religion.

The transfer of the office of song from the general congregation to an official choir involved no cessation of the production of hymns for popular use, for the distinction must always be kept in mind between liturgical and non-liturgical song, and it was only in the former that the people were commanded to abstain from participation in all but the prescribed responses. On the other hand, as ceremonies multiplied and festivals increased in number, hymnody was stimulated, and lyric songs for private and social edification, for



the hours of prayer, and for use in processions, pilgrimages, dedications and other occasional celebrations, were rapidly produced. As has been shown, the Christians had their hymns from the very beginning, but with the exception of one or two short lyrics, a few fragments, and the great liturgical hymns which were also adopted by the Western Church, they have been lost. Clement of Alexandria, third century, is often spoken of as the first known Christian hymn writer ; but the single poem, the song of praise to the Logos, which has gained him this title, is not, strictly speaking, a hymn at all. From the fourth century onward the tide of Oriental hymnody steadily rose, reaching its culmination in the eighth and ninth centuries. The Eastern hymns are divided into two schools—the Syrian and the Greek. Of the group of Syrian poets the most celebrated are Synesius, born about 375, and Ephraem, who died at Edessa in 378. Ephraem was the greatest teacher of his time in the Syrian Church, and her most prolific and able hymnist. He is best remembered as the opponent of the followers of Bardasanes and Harmonius, who had beguiled many into their Gnostic errors by the attractive power of their hymns and melodies. Ephraem met these schismatics on their own ground, and composed a large number of songs in the spirit of orthodoxy, which he gave to choirs of his followers to be sung on Sundays and festal days. The hymns of Ephraem were greatly beloved by the Syrian Church, and are still valued by the Maronite Christians. The Syrian school of hymnody died out in the fifth century, and poetic inspiration in the Eastern Church found its channel in the Greek tongue.

Before the age of the Greek Christian poets, whose names have passed into history, the great anonymous unmetrical hymns appeared which still hold an eminent place in the liturgies of the Catholic and Protestant Churches as well as of the Eastern Church. The best known of these are the two Glorias—the Gloria Patri and the Gloria in excelsis ; the Ter Sanctus or Cherubic hymn, heard by Isaiah in vision ; and the Te Deum. The Magnificat or thanksgiving of Mary, and the Benedicite or the Song of the Three Children, were early adopted by the Eastern Church. The Kyrie eleison appears as a response by the people in the liturgies of St. Mark and St. James. It was adopted into the Roman liturgy at a very early date, and the addition, *Christe eleison*, is said to have been added by Gregory the Great. The Gloria in excelsis, the “greater doxology,” with the possible exception of the Te Deum, the noblest of the early Christian hymns is the angelic song given in Luke ii., 14, with additions which were made not later than the

fourth century. "Begun in heaven, finished on earth." It was first used in the Eastern Church as a morning hymn. The *Te Deum laudamus* has often been given a Western origin, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, according to a popular legend, having been inspired to improvise it in alternate verses at the baptism of St. Augustine by the bishop of Milan. Another tradition ascribes the authorship to St. Hilary in the fourth century. Its original form is unknown, but it is generally believed to have been formed by accretions upon a Greek original. Certain phrases contained in it are also in the earlier liturgies. The present form of the hymn is probably as old as the fifth century.<sup>1</sup>

Of the very few brief anonymous songs and fragments which have come down to us from this dim period the most perfect is a Greek hymn, which was sometimes sung in private worship at the lighting of the lamps. It has been made known to many English readers through Longfellow's beautiful translation in "The Golden Legend."

O gladsome light  
Of the Father immortal,  
And of the celestial  
Sacred and blessed  
Jesus, our Saviour!  
Now to the sunset  
Again hast Thou brought us;  
And seeing the evening  
Twilight, we bless Thee,  
Praise Thee, adore Thee  
Father omnipotent!  
Son, the Life-giver!  
Spirit, the Comforter!  
Worthy at all times  
Of worship and wonder!

Overlapping the epoch of the great anonymous hymns and continuing beyond it is the era of the Greek hymnists whose names and works are known, and who contributed a vast store of lyrics to the offices of the Eastern Church. Eighteen quarto volumes, says Dr. J. M. Neale, are occupied by this huge store of religious poetry. Dr. Neale, to whom the English-speaking world is chiefly indebted for what slight knowledge it has of these hymns, divides them into three epochs:

1. "That of formation, when this poetry was gradually throwing off the bondage of classical metres, and inventing and perfecting its various styles; this period ends about A.D. 726."

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<sup>1</sup> For an exhaustive discussion of the history of the *Te Deum* see Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*.

2. "That of perfection, which nearly coincides with the period of the Iconoclastic controversy, 726-820."

3. "That of decadence, when the effeteness of an effeminate court and the dissolution of a decaying empire reduced ecclesiastical poetry, by slow degrees, to a stilted bombast, giving great words to little meaning, heaping up epithet upon epithet, tricking out commonplaces in diction more and more gorgeous, till sense and simplicity are alike sought in vain ; 820-1400."<sup>1</sup>

The centres of Greek hymnody in its most brilliant period were Sicily, Constantinople, and Jerusalem and its neighborhood, particularly St. Sabba's monastery, where lived St. Cosmas and St. John Damascene, the two greatest of the Greek Christian poets. The hymnists of this epoch preserved much of the alertness and objectivity of the earlier writers, especially in the hymns written to celebrate the Nativity, the Epiphany, and other events in the life of Christ. In others a more reflective and introspective quality is found. The fierce struggles, hatreds and persecutions of the Iconoclastic controversy also left their plain mark upon many of them in a frequent tendency to magnify temptations and perils, in a profound sense of sin, a consciousness of the necessity of penitential discipline for the attainment of salvation, and a certain fearful anticipation of judgment. This attitude, so different from the peace and confidence of the earlier time, attains its most striking manifestation in the sombre and powerful funeral dirge ascribed to St. John Damascene ("Take the last kiss") and the Judgment hymn of St. Theodore of the Studium. In the latter the poet strikes with trembling hand the tone which four hundred years later was sounded with such imposing majesty in the *Dies Iræ* of St Thomas of Celano.<sup>2</sup>

The Catholic hymnody, so far at least as concerns the usage of the ritual, belongs properly to a later period. The hymns of St. Hilary, St. Damasus, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, Prudentius, Fortunatus, and St. Gregory, which afterward so beautified the Divine Office, were originally designed for private devotion and for accessory ceremonies, since it was not until the tenth or eleventh century that hymns were introduced into the office at Rome, following a tendency that was first prominently recognized

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<sup>1</sup> *Hymns of the Eastern Church*, translated, with notes and an introduction by J. M. Neale, D.D.

<sup>2</sup> For criticisms and translations of the Greek hymns the reader is referred to the work of Dr. Neale already mentioned : Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* ; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article Hymns ; Mrs. Charles' *Voice of Christian Life in Song* ; Schaff's *Christ in Song*, and Saunders' *Evenings With the Sacred Poets*.



by the permission of the Council of Toledo in the seventh century.

The history of Christian poetry and music in the East ends with the separation of the Eastern and Western Churches. From that time onward a chilling blight rested upon the soil which the apostles had cultivated with such zeal and for a time with such grand result. The fatal controversy over Icons, the check inflicted by the conquests of the Mohammedan power, the crushing weight of Byzantine luxury and tyranny, and that insidious apathy which seems to dwell in the very atmosphere of the Orient, sooner or later entering into every high endeavor, relaxing and corrupting—all this sapped the spiritual life of the Eastern Church. The pristine enthusiasm was succeeded by fanaticism, and out of fanaticism, in its turn, issued formalism, bigotry, stagnation. It was only among the nations that were to rear a new civilization in Western Europe on the foundations laid by the Roman empire that political and social conditions could be created which would give free scope for the expansion of the divine life of Christianity. It was only in the West, also, that the motives that were adequate to inspire a Christian art, after a long struggle against Byzantine formalism and convention, could issue in sufficient artistic expression. The attempted reconciliation of Christian ideas and traditional pagan method formed the basis of Christian art, but the new insight into spiritual things, and the profounder emotions that resulted, demanded new ideals and principles as well as new subjects. The nature and destiny of the soul, the beauty and significance that lie in secret self-scrutiny and aspiration kindled by a new hope, this rather than the loveliness of outward shape became the object of contemplation and the endless theme of art. Architecture and sculpture became symbolic, painting the representation of the life of the soul, poetry and music the direct witness and the immediate manifestation of the soul itself.

With the edicts of Constantine early in the fourth century, which practically made Christianity the dominant religious system of the empire, the swift dilation of the pent-up energy of the Church inaugurated an era in which ritualistic splendor kept pace with the rapid acquisition of temporal power. The hierarchical developments had already traversed a course parallel to those of the East, and now that the Church was free to work out that genius of organization of which it had already become definitely conscious, it went one step farther than the Oriental system in the establishment of the Papacy as the single head from which the subordinate members derived legality. This was not a time when a

democratic form of church government could endure. There was no place for such in the ideas of that age. And in the furious tempests that overwhelmed the Roman empire, in the readjustment of political and social conditions all over Europe, with the convulsions and frequent triumphs of savagery that inevitably attended them, it was necessary that the Church, as the sole champion and preserver of civilization and righteousness, should concentrate all her forces, and become in doctrine, worship and government a single, compact, unified, spiritual state. The dogmas of the Church must be formulated, preserved, and guarded by an official class, and the ignorant and fickle mass of the common people must be taught to yield a reverent, unquestioning obedience to the rule of their spiritual lords. The exposition of theology, the doctrine of the ever-renewed sacrifice of Christ upon the altar, the theory of the sacraments generally, all involved the conception of a mediatorial priesthood deriving its authority by direct transmission from the apostles. Out of such conditions and tendencies proceeded also the elaborate and awe-inspiring rites, the fixed liturgies embalming the central dogmas of the faith, and the whole machinery of a worship which was itself viewed as of a certain objective efficacy, inspired by the Holy Spirit, and designed both for the edification of the believer and as an offering of the Church to its Redeemer. In the development of the outward observances of worship, with their elaborate symbolic ceremonialism, the student is often struck with surprise to see how lavishly the Church drew its forms and decorations from Paganism and Judaism. But there is nothing in this that need excite wonder, nothing that was not inevitable under the conditions of the times. Says Lanciani: "In accepting rites and customs which were not offensive to her principles and morality, the Church showed equal tact and foresight, and contributed to the peaceful accomplishment of the transformation."<sup>1</sup> The Pagan or Jewish convert was not obliged to part with all his ancestral notions of the nature of worship. He found his love of pomp and splendor gratified by the ceremonies of a religion which knew how to make many of the fair features of earthly life accessory to the inculcation of spiritual truth. And so it was that symbolism and the appeal to the senses aided in commending Christianity to a world which was not yet prepared for a faith which should require only a silent, unobtrusive experience. Instruction must come to the populace in forms which would satisfy their inherited predispositions. The

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<sup>1</sup> *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 23.

Church, therefore, establishing itself among heathenism assumed a large number of rites and customs from classical antiquity, and in the externals of its worship, as well as of its government, assumed forms which were contributions from without, as well as evolutions from within. These acquisitions, however, did not by any means remain a meaningless or incongruous residuum of dead superstitions. An instructive symbolism was imparted to them; they were moulded with marvelous art into the whole vesture with which the Church clothed herself for the instruction, as well as the admiration, of her votaries, and were made to become conscious witnesses to the truth and beauty of the new faith.

The commemoration of martyrs and confessors passed into invocations for their aid as intercessors with Christ. They became the patron saints of individuals and orders, and honors were paid to them at particular places and on particular days, involving a multitude of special ritual observances. Festivals were multiplied and took the place in popular regard of the old Roman Lupercalia and Saturnalia and the mystic rites of heathenism. As among the cultivated nations of antiquity, so in Christian Rome the festival, calling into requisition every available means of design and decoration, became the basis of a rapid development of art. Under all these conditions the music of the Church in Italy became a liturgic music, and, as in the East, the laity resigned the main offices of song to a choir consisting of subordinate clergy and appointed by clerical authority. The method of singing was undoubtedly not indigenous, but derived, as has already been shown, directly or indirectly from Eastern practice. Milman asserts that the liturgy of the Roman Church for the first three centuries was Greek. However this may have been, we know that both Syriac and Greek influences were strong at that time in the Italian Church. A number of the Popes in the seventh century were Greeks. Until the cleavage of the Church into its final Eastern and Western divisions the interaction was strong between them, and much in the way of custom and art was common to both. The conquests of the Moslem power in the seventh century drove many Syrian monks into Italy, and their liturgic practice, half Greek, half Semitic, could not fail to make itself felt among their adopted brethren.

A notable instance of the transference of Oriental custom into the Italian Church is to be found in the establishment of antiphonal chanting in the Church of Milan, at the instance of St. Ambrose, bishop of that city. St. Augustine, the pupil and friend of St. Ambrose, has given an account of this event, of



which he had personal knowledge. "It was about a year, or not much more," he relates, "since Justina, the mother of the boy-emperor Justinian, persecuted Thy servant Ambrose in the interest of her heresy, to which she had been seduced by the Arians." [This persecution was to induce St. Ambrose to surrender some of the churches of the city to the Arians.] "The pious people kept guard in the church, prepared to die with their bishop, Thy servant. At this time it was instituted that, after the manner of the Eastern Church, hymns and psalms should be sung, lest the people should pine away in the tediousness of sorrow, which custom, retained from then till now, is imitated by many—yea, by almost all of Thy congregations throughout the rest of the world."<sup>1</sup>

The conflict of St. Ambrose with the Arians occurred in 386. Before the introduction of the antiphonal chant the Psalms were probably rendered in a semi-musical recitation, similar to the usage mentioned by St. Augustine as prevailing at Alexandria under St. Athanasius, "more speaking than singing." That a more elaborate and emotional style was in use at Milan in St. Augustine's time is proved by the very interesting passage in the tenth book of the "Confessions," in which he analyzes the effect upon himself of the music of the Church, fearing lest its charm had beguiled him from pious absorption in the sacred words into a purely æsthetic gratification. He did not fail, however, to render the just meed of honor to the music that so touched him: "How I wept at Thy hymns and canticles, pierced to the quick by the voices of Thy melodious Church! Those voices flowed into my ears, and the truth distilled into my heart, and thence there streamed forth a devout emotion, and my tears ran down, and happy was I therein."<sup>2</sup>

Antiphonal psalmody, after the pattern of that employed at Milan, was introduced into the divine office at Rome by Pope Celestine, who reigned 422-432. It is at about this time that we find indications of the more systematic development of the liturgic priestly chant. The history of the papal choir goes back as far as the fifth century. Leo I., who died in 461, gave a durable organization to the divine office by establishing a community of monks to be especially devoted to the service of the canonical hours. In the year 580 the monks of Monte Cassino, founded by St. Benedict, suddenly appeared in Rome and announced the destruction of their monastery by the Lombards. Pope Pelagius received them hospitably, and gave them a dwelling near the

<sup>1</sup> *Confessions*, book ix., chap. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Confessions*, book ix., chap. 6.

Lateran basilica. This cloister became a means of providing the papal chapel with singers. In connection with the college of men-singers, who held the clerical title of sub-deacon, stood an establishment for boys, who were to be trained for service in the Pope's choir, and who were also given instruction in other branches. This school received pupils from the wealthiest and most distinguished families, and a number of the early Popes, including Gregory II. and Paul I., received instruction within its walls.

By the middle or latter part of the sixth century, the mediæval epoch of church music had become fairly inaugurated. A large body of liturgic chants had been classified and systematized, and the teaching of their form and the tradition of their rendering given into the hands of members of the clergy especially detailed for their culture. The liturgy, essentially completed during or shortly before the reign of Gregory the Great (590-604), was given a musical setting throughout, and this liturgic chant was made the law of the Church equally with the liturgy itself, and the first steps were taken to impose one uniform ritual and one uniform chant upon all the congregations of the Western Church.

The obscurity of the period of which we have been speaking must not deceive us in respect to its importance in the history of the Catholic Church. Among the priceless blessings which she has conferred upon the world not the least has been those forms of religious music—first the chant, then the *a capella* chorus—truly divinely inspired and nourished, which she developed in the middle ages as the purest expression that the world has known of the sentiment and motive of worship. And it was in the first six centuries, when the Church was organizing and drilling her forces for her victorious conflicts, that the final direction of her music, as of all her art, was consciously taken. In rejecting the support of instruments and developing for the first time an exclusively vocal art, and in breaking loose from the restrictions of antique metre which in Grecian and Greco-Roman music had forced melody to keep step with strict prosodic measure, Christian music parted company with pagan art, threw the burden of expression not, like Greek music, upon rhythm, but upon melody, and found in this absolute vocal melody a new art principle of which all the worship music of modern Christendom is the natural and glorious fruit. More vital still than these special forms and principles, comprehending and necessitating them, was the true ideal of music, proclaimed once for all by the fathers of the liturgy. This ideal is found in the distinction of the church style from the secu-

lar style, the expression of the universal mood of prayer, rather than the expression of individual, fluctuating, passionate emotion with which secular music deals—that rapt, pervasive, exalted tone which makes no attempt at detailed painting of events or superficial mental states, but seems rather to symbolize the fundamental sentiments of humility, awe, hope and love which mingle all particular experiences in the common offering which surges upward from the heart of the Church to the Lord and Master of all. In this avoidance of an impassioned emphasis of details in favor of an expression drawn from the large spirit of worship, church music evades the peril of introducing an alien dramatic element into the holy ceremony, and asserts its nobler power of creating an atmosphere from which all wordly custom and association disappears. This grand conception was early injected into the mind of the Church, and has been the parent of all that has been most noble and edifying in the creations of ecclesiastical music.

Judged from these view-points, there are few epochs in art history that seem to be of greater moment. The serene and touching melodies of the Gregorian chant, which carry us back near to this very era, are witnesses that the first application of these new principles was not in feeble and awkward phrases, but in forms so beautiful and appropriate that they endure while other forms of music arise, flourish and fade away. The revival in recent years of the study of the liturgic chant, and the mediæval *a capella* chorus music which grew out of it, arouses an insatiable curiosity to know the causes which set in motion so great an art movement. These causes cannot all be traced in detail, but with the aid of the scanty records much light can be thrown upon them by a comparative study of the liturgies, hymns, architecture, and the political, hierarchical and doctrinal developments of the time. By this method it may be seen that the music of the early Church was not accidental or decorative, or lacking in vital significance. It was an outgrowth of the conditions of the age, of the necessities of devotional expression, and of that peculiar genius of Catholicism that has made every external phenomenon symbolic of the spiritual life within. The Catholic Church develops, but, in essence, she does not change. The history of her music is likewise typical of her whole history. Manifold in its diversity, it has pursued one definite consistent aim, and that aim was already manifest in the first steps of its career.

EDWARD DICKINSON.



RUSSIAN ORTHODOXY AND THE BULL ON  
ANGLICAN ORDERS.

HOLY Russia is proverbially slow, and, like individuals who are tardy of intellect or movement, she is obstinate. That stubbornness of temperament which we find so forcibly illustrated in the retention of the old style after all the rest of the world had accepted the corrected calendar, is denoted also in the continued adhesion to the Greek schism with the acceptance of the Czar as the head of the ecclesiastical system. It would be surprising if a system of this kind could conform itself to the appeal for unity sent out by the Holy Father; for as long as the head of the State—the “divine figure of the North,” as the Czar is styled—retains the absolute power in spirituals and temporals he now wields, all those who have watched the effects of civil supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs can entertain no hope of a Church so subjected being able to consider any vital proposition from an independent standpoint.

We may well doubt that in any ecclesiastical system with a Christian basis could be found a set of conditions more unfavorable for the impartial consideration of any question affecting the whole of Christianity than that of Russia. Its traditions of enmity to Latin Christianity, its inextricable bonds of connection with State policy, its fanatical attachment to ancient symbols and formularies, the low intellectual condition of the great mass of its clergy, the quasi-police methods of its administration, and the general spirit of serfdom which seems to pervade it throughout the whole empire—all these facts have to be taken into account when estimating the chances of a general unification. The Church of Russia, one might well conclude, would need to be born over again before it could be brought once more within the fold of Christ. But we must not take this view. With all its degradation and all its superstition, with the curse of state enslavement clinging around its limbs like the poisoned shirt of the centaur around the limbs of Hercules, the Russian Church has still within it the germ of divine grace. It is not heretical; it is but schismatic. It has the body of divine truth and the grace of the sacraments. Differing little in essentials from the Latin Church, it is yet far less likely to embrace any proposals for unity

than any other offshoot of the Christian tree, because its life is interwoven with that of the State, and because it inherits a tradition of hatred and persecution toward the Church which never bowed to the State such as no other Church has so continuously carried out, and which seems to have source in a consciousness of inferiority.

We find now an expression of opinion emanating from this still mediæval institution on the controversy raised by the Anglican bishops over the Pope's pronouncement; and though it comes somewhat late in the day, it deserves some consideration: first, because it is a well-matured opinion, and, secondly, because it represents the judgment of a body which assumes a power of co-ordinate jurisdiction, centred in the Church, with the tribunal of the Vatican. We may pass by the arrogance of this assumption for the present, and invite the attention of those who have upheld the position of the Anglican bishops as against the Holy Father's decision to the fact that a Church with which some English dignitaries have been coquetting, and into whose communion some members of the English Church have been taken in Australia, now repudiates the claim of the Anglicans to any true sacerdotal possession, and takes up substantially the very same ground as the illustrious author of "*Apostolicæ Curæ*" did. Here is a curious situation for a body of communicants who would fain persuade themselves that they are still portions of the universal Christian brotherhood. They cannot remain where they are, and they cannot get away from their anomalous position. Loss of salvation threatens them on the one hand, political revolution on the other. And there is no golden bridge by which they can escape with safety.

We are not aware of the exact status held in the Russian Church by the writer who signs himself Vladimir Kerensky, but we may take the fact of an article of his, quoted from the "*Orthodox Interlocutor*," appearing in the "*Russian Orthodox American Messenger*," as some evidence of an authoritative position. It is a carefully written communication, and its presentation of both sides of the case, although synoptical, is tolerably correct. But it must be noted, with not a little amusement, that while it deprecates any absolute conclusion on the subject from the Roman Catholic standpoint, it assumes for itself an unqualified right to pronounce between the two sides from the superior vantage-ground of the "*Orthodox Russian*." It is not asserted, or claimed, either by insinuation or direct statement, that there is in the Russian Church any authority competent to render a decision

on such a delicate point. When the writer, then, delivers the opinion that the claim of the Anglicans to a valid sacramental power in their Church is not supported by the facts of the case, yet goes on to argue that the grounds set forth by the Sovereign Pontiff are "inconclusive," and that the question is still open, we are compelled to wonder at the resources of the Russian mind when it comes to a question of getting off the horns of a dilemma.

The "Answer," the article points out, "is almost entirely silent upon one very substantial objection which the Bull raises against the validity of these ordinations. The Bull's position is that the Anglican Church corrupts the very conception of priesthood and destroys the meaning thereof as of a Sacrament, and therefore the rite of ordination as it exists in that Church has no real signification. The Anglican hierarchs do not refute the premises, but merely assert that their rite of ordination is correct, that it contains everything that is essential to it. Evidently such a reply to the objection made in the Bull cannot be considered satisfactory. Admitting the Anglican rite of ordination to be correct, to contain all the essentials, the laying on of hands, the reading of appropriate prayers, etc.,—what of it? The Lutheran community also has the laying on of hands, accompanied by the reading of certain prayers, when a given person is called to the pastoral office. It does not follow, of course, that the grace of priesthood exists in the Lutheran community—because, while preserving this external form, Lutheranism denies the existence of Orders as a Sacrament."

This is a gentle way of saying that these ceremonies are so many mere formalities to make a pretence of the reception or conferring of ministerial or pastoral power. The "laying on of empty hands upon an empty head," as Mr. Spurgeon described the proceeding, can only make a pastor in a human or conventicle sense; the inner and supernal grace that accompanies the rite, when performed by those vested with the power of true apostolic transmission, can hardly be deemed to be present when that very succession is denied, and the attribute that makes the sacred character of priesthood denied not only to the minister but to the Church itself.

To our Lutheran brethren no less than our Anglican, this keen criticism of the Russian writer is respectfully commended. But the real question at issue does not rest, as the writer seems rather inconsistently to assume after laying down this line of exclusion, on the crux, "Does the Anglican Church recognize Orders as a



Sacrament in proper sense, or does she not?" The fact of such an internal recognition, without any force of apostolic succession in the Church itself, as has been shown to be the case by the result of the historical investigation, can hardly be deemed sufficient. When the very essence of a sacrament is rejected by the written doctrine and the prescriptive practice of the institution itself, how can any claim to the external force and effect of such a sacrament be set up by it? An army officer, a ship captain, a civil-service functionary, has as much authority, from a sacerdotal point of view, to minister in the offices of religion as clergymen appointed by those State Churches who are by their own act cut off from apostolic and sacramental fellowship with the body of the Church. These go through their functions entirely in a temporal way, and what are called sacraments by them are only temporal ceremonies, having no intrinsic value as sacraments, since sacramental power, save with regard to two sacraments, is repudiated for the Church to which they adhere, and that Church is resolved, therefore, as regards the rest, into an organization of separate entities, each of which has full authority and freedom to settle matters of dogma and doctrine for itself. Hence it has no cohesive force, by which it may be preserved in any semblance of uniformity, even in externals, from one generation to another, save that of the self-interest resulting from the favor and material support of the State. This is the position into which the question logically resolves itself, if we follow out the argument on which Protestantism generally rests to its right conclusion.

Sharp-sighted as the Russian critic appears to be, he seems to miss the point suggested by the defect he points out. Only two sacraments are relied upon in the Thirty-nine Articles as really instituted by the New Testament and essential to salvation—namely, Baptism and Communion. If the clergy of the Anglican Church possess, as Anglicans assert, no sacramental character from the fact of their ordination, whence comes the power to consecrate bread and wine and administer them as a sacrament? Or is there any such power, or what is there to establish the claim that these elements differ in any degree whatsoever from the bread and wine of ordinary commerce and consumption? Surely, when sacramental qualities are not attributed to the Church or its rites, or to the character of its pastorate, it can hardly be thought that any special grace accompanies the performance of a simple unkerneled ceremony.

The passage in the Thirty-nine Articles which decides this question for Anglicans is quoted by the writer :

"There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel; that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. Those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony and Extreme Unction, are not to be accounted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures; but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God."

"It will be easily seen from all this," remarks the Russian critic, "that the Thirty-nine Articles really and truly strip priesthood of the quality of grace."

"All the symbolical books of the Anglican Church," he emphatically superadds, "from the first to the last, deny in substance the grace of priesthood." Looking at the question from an Anglican point of view, he concludes ordained persons are the same as any other persons, only that they have received external powers to minister in the Church.

Admitting this logic to be true, the term "the Church," in this connection, goes the same way as the term "clergy." It is a human institution merely when it possesses no sacrament-creating power or ministry, and has no other foundation than human sanction.

The manifest irreconcilability of the facts and the Thirty-nine Articles with the practices of many of the Anglican clergy is a point which has not escaped the critic's observation. The fact that the practice differs from the law does not alter the case in Russian Orthodox eyes:

"How can we reconcile this doctrine of the Anglican Church on the Sacrament of Orders with her sumptuously developed Sacramentary?" he asks. "Many Anglican theologians, fully realizing the internal contradiction with which their Church has to contend in this particular case, emphasize the fact that neither the Thirty-nine Articles nor their other so-called symbolical books bear a compulsory character in their Church; and that, therefore, the members of their denomination may, and many really do, recognize the grace of priesthood. But where is the foundation of such a belief, and where the expression of it? For those who stand outside the Anglican confession there is no such foundation and no such expression; consequently, neither is there anything to warrant our looking on the Anglican hierarchy from this point of view."

If this argument were to be taken in all sincerity as an attempt to determine where truth really lies as between two disputants, we might be satisfied with the expressions of opinion above cited as sufficient evidence of a true verdict. But this is far from being the case. The sum—the very inconsequential sum of the writer's propositions *pro* and *contra*—is presented thus:

"While, on one hand, the Papal Bull fails in some points to bring proofs justifying its denial of the validity of Anglican ordinations, the 'Answer' of the Anglican hierarchs, on the other, is wanting in force in its defence of these same ordinations."

The unsophistical reader who has followed the critic's argument, fairly and sufficiently set forth in the excerpts given, must perforce conclude that the writer himself has demolished the pretence of "validity" most effectually. Then what further proofs can be needed? Is it not a case of *cadit quæstio*?

The Bull "Apostolicæ Curæ" the writer had previously described as of immense importance because it rested the grounds for its adverse decision, not on the legend of the Nag's Head ordination, or any doubtful assumptions, but simply on *facts*. These facts are, mainly, the mission of Cardinal Pole and the Gordon ordination. This is the position as to history; the argument from the doctrinal position of the contestants is, in the view of the critic himself, perfectly impregnable. Any ordinary reader endeavoring to follow his tortuous subtleties would early have concluded that he raised no question of the soundness of the Pope's decision on historical grounds. Nor does he, in reality; he merely declares that the Holy Father's method of presenting the historical view of the case is "one-sided." The Anglican bishops did not raise any such ground of challenge, for they knew how futile it would prove to be. All the data are in the hands of the Vatican; and is it to be supposed that the Holy Father, whose yearning for unity is so keen, would not rather have sought to sweep away a barrier where a doubt existed than decided on its continuance? But far more amazing is the demurrer taken to the acceptance of the Anglicans' own doctrine on Sacraments. Here is what the writer says on this point:

"Not less one-sided is that part of the Bull which decides the question dogmatically, by a critical examination of the Anglican Church's doctrine on the Sacrament of Orders. . . . One of the chief grounds adduced by the Papal Bull for denying Anglican ordinations, the quality of grace in a dogmatic sense, is the fact that, in the ritual of these ordinations, there is no mention of the bishop's power and the priest's office to consecrate and offer in sacrifice the Body and Blood of the Lord, without which mention, it is alleged, this rite is utterly worthless. Again, this line of argumentation can of course impress only a truly believing member of the Roman Catholic Church, in whose eyes a deviation from this or that standard established by his Church as absolutely right constitutes a crime."

If it were any but a Russian theologian or polemic who had written the foregoing and afterwards penned the sentences we have previously quoted dismissing the Anglican claims on this very ground, we should be justified in believing him insensible to the absurdity of self-stultification. He proves the non-possession of sacramental grace by both Anglicans and Lutherans—so far as orders are concerned, not by the allegations of those outside these



communions, but out of their own laws and ordinals. His condemnation is more sweeping, because more frequently repeated, than the language of the Bull he challenges. As champion of an "Orthodox" Church he is concerned for the integrity of the sacraments, and he ought to know that the Pope's decision was in no sense a matter of option, but one dependent solely upon absolute recorded facts.

One of the reasons urged by the critic for his objection to this decision is "the narrowly Catholic stand which the Bull takes." Here, perhaps, we may find some clue to a state of mind which regards logical confusion neither as a position demanding explanation nor a cause of embarrassment. There is no power in the Russian Church capable of rendering an authoritative doctrinal decision. The Czar would hardly deem himself competent to pronounce a dogmatic definition. Napoleon, when he sought to make the Church an appanage or department of the State, is said to have seriously reasoned himself into the belief that as head of the State and dictator of the Church he was, although not in holy orders, a bishop, and so entitled to decide on theological questions as well as questions of State. The Czar seems to be less presumptuous. He is president of the Holy Synod, but in how far he pretends to spiritual powers we are not aware. Before the abolition of the Russian Patriarchate there was a semblance of capital authority in the schismatic Church, just as there is in the Greek Church. The Patriarch was the over-bishop and exercised a controlling authority, in so far as the convoking of councils and the nomination to Sees were concerned. The loosening of the principle of cohesion resulting from the abolition of this high office has so weakened the idea of the necessity for unity in the Universal Church that the Russian mind seems now scarcely able to grasp it. The division of the Church into several large branches is now quietly acquiesced in as the natural evolution of Christianity. Hence the complaint about the "narrowly Catholic spirit" of the Pope's decision. Besides being a contradiction in terms, the statement is logically absurd.

In the year 1839 a gentleman named Palmer, a brother of Lord Selborne, and a cherished friend of Dr. Newman, when the Oxford movement was at fever-heat, conceived the singular idea of going to Russia and joining the National Church, as a means of contributing what he could to the unification of what he considered to be three branches of the one mystical body—the Roman, the Greek, and the Anglican. The idea was, if we consider the time, an odd one; but if we try to put ourselves into the shoes of a man

under the influence of a perturbing spiritual impulse, who seeks a haven of rest, we can readily understand how the lights of one haven may be mistaken for those of another. Mr. Palmer went to Russia, and in a most earnest and sincere spirit addressed himself to the task he had set before himself. But he found he had never made a greater mistake than when he imagined that there was any sympathy with Protestantism in the Russian Church. He was received politely; he met huge military personages who represented the Czar in the army and the Church, and who smiled at the idea of a British monarch assuming to be the head of an ecclesiastical establishment representing nothing but a revolt from the old Sacramental Church of Christendom. He applied to the Archbishop of Moscow for the privilege of communion with the Russian Church, but the grounds upon which the claim was based were categorically controverted by the Archbishop, and the request was refused. Afterwards Mr. Palmer admitted the decision was just. He perceived, on analyzing his own logic, that he had no ground for claiming communion with Russia, but that if he desired reconciliation with the mother Church he must go to the centre of unity, which is Rome. Mr. Palmer was made to realize, in short, in a very unmistakable way, that even a decadent Czar-ruled Church, conscious of still possessing the body of the faith in the validity of its priesthood and the genuineness of its sacraments, looks with contempt upon the pretensions of all sects which, having repudiated all authority, still seek for recognition as bodies authoritative from their own assumption of apostolic functions.

The most humiliating repudiation of all, however, is the latest one published. It is that of the Jansenist body. Through the mouth of the Archbishop of Utrecht this small schismatic body emphatically deny that the Anglican clergy possess any claim to be considered a canonical priesthood. The gist of the declaration is contained in the subjoined excerpt:

“The Established Church of England knows nothing of a sacrificing priest in the Catholic sense, as her Thirty-nine Articles and other declarations prove. Consequently, if it is indispensable that the power of offering the sacrifice of the Mass be expressed in the rite of Ordination, whether by word or sign, then it becomes impossible to recognize Anglican Orders. But on this point I wish to suspend my judgment until the whole Church shall have decided the point. But until the Anglicans reject their Thirty-nine Articles there can be no question of reunion between us and them,”

This is the common-sense view of the case, stated with Dutch simplicity; and when one considers the question from the point of view here taken, it does certainly strike the mind with amazement how any body of men with a clerical training could reason against the plain facts on which the Jansenist opinion is based.

Nowhere, then, is there any prospect of comfort for the anxious Anglicans. If there were hope of sympathy with their claims, outside the Roman communion, surely it ought to be looked for in the ranks of the schismatic churches. But what more convincing proof could be afforded of the impregnability of the Pope's position than the reluctant endorsement of his substantive contention by those semi-detached members of the once united body? They would, naturally, have been glad to seek confirmation of their own withdrawal by recognizing the status of the Anglican body as fellow-malcontents, if it were at all possible to do so. Now the ground is completely cleared for a new departure. We do not see any possible solution for the crux but a partition of the Anglican Church. The question cannot remain where it is, for there are millions of minds seething in a fever of doubt and unrest, and their yearnings can hardly be left unsatisfied much longer. The conscience of the better part of the nation is stirring, and this, the most potent force in all the world, is as certain to work out its effects as the snows and ice of the winter to disintegrate the soil for the plough.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.



## BIOLOGIC SOCIOLOGY.

WHATEVER subject the human mind inquires into, whatever phenomena it analyses of the soul within us or of nature without, it always pursues the knowledge of causes, proximate and remote, as its proper object. Eager and steady in this pursuit, it can never come to rest without ascending to the very fountain-head whence all effects ultimately spring into existence. Obeying this innate tendency of reason, philosophers who have made society their special study, not content with the knowledge of its end and organization, have also endeavored to trace its existence back to its proper cause and origin. Nor can this inquiry be dispensed with. For, indeed, it is not immaterial whether society is the result of blind causation or the product of an agent working with aim and purpose; whether it is formed by an arbitrary agreement of changeable men or shaped by the wise and benign Creator of nature to last as long as human beings will inhabit the earth. Society has a material existence, and obeys but organic laws. If it results from forces intrinsic to matter, but is a moral entity ruled by moral laws; if it springs from man's rational nature, as the highest evolution of a self-existent universe, it is supreme and independent, but is subject to the authority of a superior Lawgiver, if devised and instituted by a personal Deity.

## I.

According to the teachings of the old school, society was an institution of nature. Aristotle's saying that man was naturally a social being was universally admitted as an axiomatic truth. Pursuing this thought, Christian Philosophy concluded to a still higher origin. While it held social life to be a natural requisite of man, it discovered in human nature not merely an animal organism, but also a spiritual element, immaterial reason; and regarding all nature as the work of God, it recognized reason in particular as His likeness and participation. Hence, in accordance with the Christian view, as an institution of nature society is imperatively demanded, not by merely organic but by rational laws, is framed by the Eternal Wisdom, ordained by the Divine Will, and is to be governed by the Eternal Reason manifesting its dictates through created intelligence.

This Christian conception was dimmed at the very dawn of the modern era. Shortly after the period of the Reformation the English philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, described society as the mere outcome of a human covenant. To his mind the original condition of our race was a war of every man against every man. Starting into existence with intense egoistic tendencies, with strong and unbridled passions, human nature could not but impel each individual to the pursuit of his own advantage regardless of, or even in opposition to, the interest of others. Such a state, however, was as unsatisfactory as it was harmful. Accordingly, by mutual agreement, men united in social life by establishing, of their own accord, an absolute authority, which, on the one hand, was to be obeyed by all with unconditional submission, yet, on the other, was pledged to maintain peace and order and afford protection. Thus society originated in the free-will of self-interested men.

On a somewhat different ground was the theory of a social contract in early times postulated by J. J. Rousseau. In his opinion, men originally lived in perfect isolation; harmless, upright and peaceful. Society was a cunning invention of man to substitute artificial for natural happiness, with the hope of greater, yet doubtful, advantages. Not being intended by nature, it came to be established by a general contract, by which all surrendered their original freedom of action and essential independence to a common centre—the will of the people—on the condition of sharing the universal sovereignty created by the accumulation of resigned individual rights.

For some time Rousseau's social contract was the basis of all political theories. Even Kant espoused it, notwithstanding his opposition to French materialism, and his no less decided leaning to idealism. But ere long the tide of philosophic opinion reverted to nature as the origin of society, not, however, to resuscitate the theistic views of by-gone ages. True, the state ceased to be considered as a mere artificial body devised by human wit. It began again to be looked upon as a natural organization. Yet, according to the new conception, human nature, which gives rise to society, is not a creature of God subject to His law, but a self-existent being evolving by independent activity. Such absoluteness was attributed to man, either as animated by Divine Reason or as the highest evolution of uncreated and all-comprising matter. The former view, altogether pantheistic, was an outgrowth of German idealism initiated by Kant; the latter, which was materialistic, was a development of sensism or empiricism

prevalent in France and England during the last two centuries. We shall not treat here of the pantheistic state, the absolute oppressor of individual liberty. It is the evolutionary thesis of society that occupies our attention.

But if evolution as applied to sociology is to be sifted, why should we not first of all direct our attention to the theory which has been elaborated most carefully and developed most consistently by him who is considered the ablest modern thinker—the theory of Herbert Spencer? Reasoning from the general idea of evolution, he attempts to show that society is an organism in the proper sense, and that consequently it rises and evolves from lower stages of life in strict accordance with biological laws. His Sociology, therefore, is biologic, a department of biology. Nor is this only his view. His authority and his writings have obtained for it the widest acceptance; so much so that Biological Sociology is regarded by many as pre-eminently the social theory. Let us, then, see on what line of argument he establishes his position.

## II.

In his “First Principles of Synthetic Philosophy” he characterizes evolution as the universal process, one in kind and fact, by which the entire universe in all its parts and realms is formed, and to which all changes following one another in uninterrupted succession must be reduced. Summing up all its particulars, and all the conclusions arrived at, both inductively and deductively, he expresses its general law in the following formula:

*“Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation.”*<sup>1</sup>

To fully understand this formula, we must bear in mind that the forces which are active during evolution are merely material. Indeed no one is more explicit in maintaining this view than Mr. Spencer himself, notwithstanding the fundamental tenet of his theory that beyond all phenomena, all perceptible changes, there lies as their ultimate cause an absolute unknowable, universal and persistent power intrinsic to the cosmos. The briefest analysis of this power will show us that it is merely material. It is absolute only when considered as unformed in itself, as an abstract entity, a common reality or element lying at the root of all. As such,

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<sup>1</sup> *First Principles*, § 145.



however, it does not exist, for it is formed and determined by the particular existences we experience. It is unknowable only because it is represented in the mind not by a definite, but an indefinite and abstract notion. But this conception of it is formed by the generalization of our concrete perceptions, since it manifests itself through, and is implied in, all the phenomena of the visible universe. Hence "the universally co-existent forces of attraction and repulsion are aspects of it, forms and modes under which it is represented in consciousness." It is a persistent force, not because it is unchangeable,—for it is, in fact, constantly changing in its forms and its modes,—but because its quantity remains the same through all periods of time and under all changes. It is a universal intrinsic cause, not for the reason that it is above all phenomena, but because it manifests itself through all of them as modes of its own existence. Thus it is not distinct from nature, nor prior to, but identical with it. Arguing from its attributes, we must conclude that the absolute, the unconditioned, the unknowable, which is said to be the universal cause, is merely a generalization, an abstract conception of the different material forces transformable into one another; and that these, *vice versa*, are only forms and modes under which it exists and is present in our mind.

In fact, Herbert Spencer, in his "First Principles,"<sup>1</sup> attempts to account for the universe, its action and its form, by matter, force, motion, and their properties, such as indestructibility, equivalence, direction, equilibration, instability. In nearly every chapter of Part II. he goes through all nature, to show how by these causes and agencies all its parts and realms have been successively evolved according to one universal law; the whole solar system, no less than the individual inorganic bodies, the forms and varieties of organic life, the thoughts of the mind and the emotions of the will, from the brute and the lowest savage up to the wisest and holiest men. Of the universe thus evolved society is a special province. In his "Principles of Sociology" he expressly ranges its origin and gradual growth under the general formula of evolution.

"The many facts contemplated unite in proving that social evolution forms part of evolution at large. Like evolving aggregates in general, societies show integration both by simple increase of mass and by coalescence and re-coalescence of mass. The change from *homogeneity* to *heterogeneity* is multitudinously exemplified, up from the simple tribe, alike in all its parts, to the

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<sup>1</sup> *First Principles*, 145.

civilized nation, full of structural and functional unlikeness. With progressing integration and heterogeneity goes increasing *coherence*. We see the wandering group dispersing, dividing, held together by no bonds; the tribe with parts made more coherent by subordination to a dominant man; the cluster of tribes united in a political plexus under a chief with sub-chiefs, and so on up to the civilized nation, consolidated enough to hold together for a thousand years or more. Simultaneously comes increasing *definiteness*. Social organization is at first vague; advance brings settled arrangements which grow slowly more precise; customs pass into laws which, while gaining fixity, also become more specific in their applications to varieties of actions; and all institutions, at first confusedly intermingled, slowly separate, at the same time that each within itself marks off more distinctly its component structures. Thus in all respects is fulfilled the formula of evolution. There is progress towards greater size, coherence, multiformity and definiteness."<sup>1</sup>

It was not, however, in the "Principles of Sociology" that Herbert Spencer broached his idea for the purpose of unifying social and natural sciences; even his "First Principles" were intended to evince that society has gone through all the stages marked out in the general formula of evolution; and while attempting by lengthy inductions to make good this assertion, he has traced each stage of social development to the same properties and laws of matter to which he attributed the formation of the heavenly bodies out of a nebulous mass, and the rise and growth of organic life out of brute creation.

Society, then, as a product of universal evolution is contained within the self-evolving cosmos. But we might ask of what special province does it form a part? We are told that it belongs to the organic realm. Evolution is a process of equilibration, tendency to equilibrium being an essential property of the universal forces of attraction and repulsion. When equilibration becomes more complete, it constitutes life. In Herbert Spencer's theory this is a fundamental tenet. He defines life as the definite combination of heterogeneous changes both simultaneous and successive in correspondence with external existences and sequences, or as the maintenance of a moving equilibrium between the organism and its environment. The definition which he gives of the intrinsic constitution of a living being is in keeping with the definition given of life.

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<sup>1</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, vol. i., § 271.

"Every living body exhibits in a fourfold form the process we are tracing out (equilibration)—exhibits it from moment to moment in the balancing of mechanical forces ; from hour to hour in the balancing of functions ; from year to year in the changes of state that compensate changes of condition ; and finally in the complete arrest of vital movements at death."<sup>1</sup>

Social life is a moving equilibrium of the same kind. Herbert Spencer's views on this special subject are very definite.

"The behavior of a single inanimate object depends on the co-operation between its own forces and the forces to which it is exposed. . . . Similarly with any group of inanimate objects. . . . It is equally so when the discrete aggregate consists of organic bodies, as of members of a species. For a species increases or decreases in number, widens or contracts its habitat, migrates or remains stationary, continues an old mode of life or falls into a new one, under the combined influences of its intrinsic nature and the environing actions, inorganic and organic. It is thus, too, with aggregates of men. Be it or be it not advanced, every society displays phenomena that are ascribable to the characters of its units and to the conditions under which they exist."<sup>2</sup>

The analogy between society and the organism, between social and organic evolution, is spun out in detail and illustrated throughout the "*Principles of Sociology*." To avoid endless quotations, we shall merely render the explanation which Mr. J. Fiske, in his "*Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*," gives of Herbert Spencer's views—an explanation which, as to correctness, clearness and comprehensiveness, leaves nothing to be desired. After having set forth that organic life and society conform in the same manner to the general law of evolution, because both show the same primary features of integration and the same secondary features of differentiation, the American interpreter of the English philosopher affirms a fourfold essential resemblance between their respective progress as a necessary consequence. Social, as well as organic, evolution consists in the continuous adaptation to environment—that is to say, in the continuous equilibrium with it. Society, like the organism in the course of this adaptation, continually increases in definite heterogeneity through successive differentiations and integrations. In society, as in the organism, the increase of internal heterogeneity is determined by the continuous increase of heterogeneity in the environment. And this latter increase is de-

<sup>1</sup> *First Principles*, § 173. A fuller interpretation of life as a process of equilibration may be found in J. Fiske's *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*. Vol. 2, pp. 64 and 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, § 6.



terminated by the successive integration of communities into more and more complex and coherent aggregates, the same law holding also of organic progress.<sup>1</sup>

"These four generalizations," he then goes on to say, "expressing the points in which social and organic development coincide, were summed up in the first clauses of our law of progress."<sup>2</sup> They are immediate corollaries of the law of universal evolution, and of the definition of life as adjustment. They are not to be understood as mere expressions of striking analogies.

"They are to be understood as implying that the evolution of life and the evolution of society are to a certain extent, and in the most abstract sense, identical processes. Such a conclusion, indeed, became inevitable the moment we were brought to admit that the phenomena of society constitute but a specialized division of the phenomena of psychical life."<sup>3</sup>

From positions like these the conclusion necessarily follows that society is an organism in the proper sense. In fact, Herbert Spencer devotes a whole chapter of his "*Sociology*"<sup>4</sup> to argumentation in favor of this proposition. As reason for it he alleges identity observed in both with regard to laws obeyed, to growth, to division of labor, to unlikeness of parts and their activities, to mutual influence and dependence. It is not merely some resemblance; it is essential likeness between them that he endeavors to establish; for, as he says, the differences and contrasts that exist between them do not result in a difference of laws of organization. Speaking of division of labor as existing in both of them, he remarks:

"Scarcely can I emphasize enough the truth that in respect of this fundamental trait a social organism and an individual organism are entirely alike."<sup>5</sup>

Still, as Herbert Spencer expressly affirms, despite such coincidences of social and organic life, society is not comparable with any particular type of individual organism, animal or vegetal; for it agrees with organic bodies only in fundamental or general, not in specific, features.

"Here let it once more be distinctly asserted that there exist no analogies between the body politic and a living body, save those necessitated by that mutual dependence of parts which they

<sup>1</sup> *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, vol. ii., p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> The law of social progress is thus worded by Mr. Fiske: "The evolution of society is a continuous establishment of psychical relations within the community, in conformity with physical and psychical relations arising in the environment."—(Page 223.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, part ii., ch. ii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, § 219.

display in common. Though, in foregoing chapters, sundry comparisons of social structures and functions to structures and functions in the human body have been made, they have been made only because structures and functions in the human body furnish familiar illustrations of structures and functions in general. The social organism discrete, instead of concrete; asymmetrical, instead of symmetrical; sensitive in all its units, instead of having a single sensitive centre, is not comparable to any particular type of individual organism, animal or vegetal. All kinds of creatures are alike in so far as each exhibits co-operation among its components for the benefit of the whole, and this trait, common to them, is a trait common also to societies. Further, among individual organisms, the degree of co-operation measures the degree of evolution, and this general truth, too, holds among social organisms. Once more, to effect increasing co-operation, creatures of every order show us increasingly complex appliances for transfer and mutual influence; and to this general characteristic, societies of every order furnish a corresponding characteristic. These, then, are the analogies alleged: community in the fundamental principles of organization is the only community asserted."<sup>1</sup>

Society, therefore, is an organism of its own kind, specifically different from any individual organic body. Its differential marks have been briefly pointed out in the passage just quoted. The social organism, it was said, is discrete and asymmetrical, whereas the individual organism—the organic body—is concrete and symmetrical. The former consists of sensitive units, whereas the latter has only a sensitive centre. This is the cardinal difference. For hence it is that in society the welfare of the units is the end of the whole body, whereas in the individual organism the benefit of the whole is the end of the component parts.<sup>2</sup>

From the specific nature of society thus explained, it will be understood why Herbert Spencer is wont to call it a super-organic evolution. He evidently cannot mean to deny its organic nature, or to predicate of it immateriality, after he has proved it to be an organism and to conform to all the general or fundamental traits of organic life. If he really did, he would commit himself to palpable self-contradiction. What he means is to bring out the specific difference that exists between society as an organism consisting of several living and sentient units and a single organic body composed of parts having no separate life and perception—a dif-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, § 269.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, §§ 220–223.

ference implying for the former superiority in perfection and posteriority in origin. Any doubt whatever that might remain as to this interpretation is removed by Herbert Spencer himself, who, in defining supra-organic evolution, says :

"We may conveniently mark it off as including all those processes and products which imply the co-ordinated actions of many individuals."<sup>1</sup>

But if the resemblance between the individual and the social organism is only general, and the difference between them specific, as has been stated, how is it still possible to regard social evolution as biologic or to explain it by biologic laws? The question seems to assume a special importance, if it is to be granted that society comes into being only after the evolution of psychic life, and that consequently, as psychology intervenes, Sociology does not come into immediate contact with Biology. All evolutionists do not agree in their answer; some even positively dissent from Herbert Spencer. Still the solution of the difficulty is plain enough. According to evolutionary views, the force which is thought to produce all cosmic phenomena, whether inorganic or organic, psychic or social, is essentially one, and the laws which it follows in its universal activity are always the same. Accordingly the process of evolution is but one, and that gradual, rising from lower to higher forms of existence. So, too, life is one continuous process of equilibration, though it goes through many stages, and grows to even higher degrees of perfection and complexity, being at first merely organic, then psychic, and at last social. The differences marking off the successive grades in the vital forms evolved arise from newly-resulting circumstances, under which the one force works and the universal laws are applied. For this reason it must be granted that the phenomena of organic, psychic and social life are unlike in complexity, and are consequents of widely-different antecedents. They are, therefore, the subject-matter of different inductive sciences. But these very sciences, like the phenomena themselves, branch off from one another as the offshoots of the same trunk.

Hear Mr. Fiske on this point :

"As we have seen psychology to be an offspring from biology, specialized by the introduction of inquiries concerning the relations of the percipient mind to its environment, we must similarly regard sociology as an offspring from psychology, specialized by the introduction of inquiries of many percipient and emotionally-excited minds to each other and the common environment."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, vol. ii., p. 198.



Thus connected, these sciences have the same principles and the same laws in common, and are resolved into one fundamental or universal science, which is no other than the science of life, not indeed of life organic or psychic, under any particular form, but of life in general; as all particular phenomena inquired into are vital processes. Biology, then, in its wider and general sense, is the ultimate and philosophical interpretation of society, as well as of the individual organism and of the mind. And *vice versa* Sociology, if we trace it back to its ultimate and highest reasons, explains the social phenomena by biological laws and principles.

### III.

Thus in Spencer's system society is a stage of organic evolution—indeed the highest and ultimate—and Sociology a special branch of Biology. We must now investigate how, during the process of universal evolution, from the lower forms of sentient and psychic existence causes emerge and laws result so modified as to give society a peculiar organic nature, and to make Sociology, though biological in its general features, a special science distinct from all other branches of human knowledge.

Society, as explained thus far, is to be conceived as a permanent union for co-operation towards a common end, and as an equilibration between extrinsic and intrinsic forces. Both conceptions must of course coincide, and in fact do, inasmuch as each of them means an adjustment of parts to one another, and an adjustment of the whole to the achievement of a certain object in the world by which it is surrounded and acted upon. Whether conceived as a permanent union of men in the pursuit of a common end, or as a system of forces equilibrated within itself and its environment, society needs a bond which secures its existence by holding its units together, and promotes harmonious co-operation by regulating their activities. This first and most necessary constituent of social life has been identified by Herbert Spencer with the social instinct and sympathetic feeling. The social instinct—sociality—arises from a permanent co-existence of several sentient beings, demanded by their natural needs and consolidated by the survival of the fittest. The sympathetic feelings result from a life led in common, and grow in proportion as social relations are strengthened and multiplied. Once awakened, sympathy enhances sociality, and thus the two are acting and reacting as cause and consequence; greater sympathy making possible greater sociality, public and domestic, and greater sociality serving to further cultivate sympathy.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Principles of Psychology*, §§ 504, 512. *Justice*, § 20.

From this explanation the nature of the causes which, according to evolutionary views, give existence to society may easily be understood. Plainly, they are those which give rise to sociality and sympathy. By threatening evils which cannot be avoided, and by offering goods which cannot be obtained but by united efforts, external causes necessitate communal life on the part of many individuals. In consequence, they not only rouse social and sympathetic feelings, but also give them a decided advantage in the struggle for existence. Internal causes both widen and strengthen sociality and sympathy, and serve as means to promote and organize co-operation for a common end. Evidently causes like these may be conceived as tending to establish an equilibrium between society and its environment, or an adjustment of the social units to one another, and of the society to an end to be achieved in the external world.

The external as well as the internal causes radically pre-exist in the sub-human stages of evolution. For as human life in general, according to the evolutionary theory, is but a higher development of animal existence, so social life "arises out of an order no higher than that variously displayed in the animal world at large." Owing to the need of co-operation for the achievement of necessary ends, co-existence, sociality, and sympathy, and consequently also a sort of association, are found among brutes. Association is, of course, upon the whole, very imperfect; still in some animals it is said to have reached such a remarkable degree of development as to bear the closest resemblance to human society.

"All know that bees and wasps form communities such that the units and aggregates stand in very definite relations. Between the individual organization of the hive-bee and the organization of the hive as an orderly aggregate of individuals, with a regularly formed habitation, there exists a fixed connection."<sup>1</sup>

"Among some species of ants super-organic evolution is carried much further. The most advanced show us division of labor carried so far that different classes of individuals are structurally adapted to different functions. White ants, or *termites*, have, in addition to males and females, soldiers and workers; and there are in some cases two kinds of males and females, winged and un-winged, making six unlike forms. Moreover, among members of the communities there is a system of signalling equivalent to a rude language, and there are elaborate processes of mining, road-

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<sup>1</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, § 3.

making and building. In Congo, Tuckey found a complete banza (village) of ant-hills placed with more regularity than the native banzas, and Schweinfurth says a volume would be required to describe the magazines, chambers, passages, bridges contained in a *termites*-mound.

"Certain gregarious mammals, however, as the beavers, carry on social co-operation to a considerable extent in building habitations. Finally, among sundry of the *Primates*, gregariousness is joined with some subordination, some combination, some display of the social sentiments. There is obedience to leaders, there is union of efforts, there are sentinels and signals, there is an idea of property, there is exchange of services, there is adoption of orphans, and the community makes efforts on behalf of endangered members."<sup>1</sup>

Herbert Spencer does not hesitate to consider associations so wonderfully constituted as super-organic evolutions. Still, though ranking them in this highest class, he finds an essential difference between them and social unions in the strict and proper sense. Comparing the aggregate of insects with social aggregates, he reduces the marks which distinguish the one from the other chiefly to the following: The former is a union among individuals of the same parentage, differentiated merely in consequence of sex and community of descent, whereas the latter is a union of individuals independent in parentage and approximately equal in their capacities, yet differentiated by specialization of classes, which are not required by the rearing of offspring. Consequently, human society is the highest though not the only super-organic evolution, immensely transcending all others in extent, complication and importance.<sup>2</sup>

If a distance of such width separates animal from human associations, there must also be a difference between the social instinct and sympathetic feelings which constitute mere gregariousness, on the one hand, and sociality and human sympathy, which unite men into states and nations, on the other; and a difference, moreover, between the causes that engender these qualities in brutes in a bare rudimentary form, and those which produce and develop them in man to full perfection. These latter, then, are the specific causes of the origin and growth of human society—the causes that make it evolve out of animal aggregations, and grow from an initial and embryonic condition to a state where it is endowed with all the vital power and organization corresponding to the su-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, §§ 3, 5.



periority of its nature. There will be no difficulty in determining these causes after the admission that life in general, and society in a special manner, is an equilibrium between intrinsic and extrinsic forces, between the organism and its surroundings. First of all, they must be in part external, in part internal, and both these classes of causes must again be subdivided, according as they give origin to society or promote its growth and development. This distinction is of importance, inasmuch as philosophical inquiry is in a special manner concerned with the primary causes. Herbert Spencer terms the former division original, the latter derived factors. As original external factors, he marks out the earth; its surface, uniform or multiform; its climate, hot or cold; its flora and fauna, scanty or plenteous, hurtful or useful.

Supposing man to be the social unit, the physical, mental and emotional faculties of his nature are considered as original internal factors. The results, on the contrary, of his social activity, after society has once been established, are termed derived factors. Such are in the *environment*, the alterations artificially brought about in the climate, and in the vegetable and animal kingdom, in *society itself*, the density of population, and the influence exercised by the social body on the members, and *vice versâ*. To this kind of factors also belong the action and reaction of neighboring societies, and the products of evolved faculties, such as implements, appliances, languages, knowledge, sciences, laws, and arts.<sup>1</sup>

But let us go back to human nature, the original intrinsic factor. The chief cause which gives rise to social union is man's higher intelligence. It is this faculty that restrains the egoistic tendencies, widens and develops sympathy, forecasts the consequences of actions, devises social institutions, determines the relations between one member and the other, and between the members and society. To it is further due the fundamental character of all social progress, consisting, as Mr. Fiske says, in the continuous weakening of selfishness and the continuous strengthening of sympathy. In his "Data of Ethics,"<sup>2</sup> his treatise on *Justice*<sup>3</sup> and his *Principles of Psychology*,<sup>4</sup> Herbert Spencer expressly derives from intelligence the higher degrees of sympathy, and from higher sympathy the higher evolution of social life, though, in his opinion, the latter also helps to develop the former. In his "Principles of Sociology" he proposes to show how primitive human intelligence produces primitive society, and more fully evolved intellectual ideas estab-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, §§ 8-15.

<sup>2</sup> *Data of Ethics*, § 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Justice*, ch. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Principles of Psychology*, p. 8, ch. 7, 8.

lish better and firmer social relations and superior political institutions. Nowhere does he fail to attribute civilization to psychic factors, or, in other words, to base Sociology on Psychology.

#### IV.

Such, then, are the causes of social existence. How do they work? What are the successive phases of the evolutionary process whose resultant is human society? By making them out step by step, Herbert Spencer intends to illustrate the gradual growth of society in accordance with the general biological laws. At first society is a small savage tribe, but it becomes ever wider in size and extension, and ever more perfect in organization, until it covers an immense territory, comprises nations, and reaches the climax of civilization. The method employed by him is not deductive, but inductive; for he does not deduce the course of social evolution from general principles, but from experience and observation he endeavors to evidence the general conformity of its evolution with organic growth and development.

Social evolution begins with integration or union of elements. The original units of which society is formed are comparatively as small as the cells which constitute the organic body.

"Societies, like living beings, begin as germs—originate from masses which are extremely minute in comparison with the masses some of them eventually reach. That out of small wandering hordes have arisen the largest societies is a conclusion not to be contested."<sup>1</sup>

Social integration, however, soon becomes complex, as composition is directly followed by recomposition. Units combine into groups wider in extent, and groups unite, in turn, among themselves.

"There is increase by simple multiplication of units, causing enlargement of the group; there is increase by union of groups, and again by union of groups of groups."

This process, continued till the social body has reached the widest dimensions, is essential to strength and vitality.<sup>2</sup>

Recompounding not only follows compounding, but is often also simultaneous with it. The union of groups increases the size of the social organism, but does not give it the density required for solidity. To obtain the latter it is necessary that in the enlarged body every particular group increases in the number of individuals.

<sup>1</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, § 224.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, §§ 226, 227.

"Social integration, which results from the clustering of clusters, is joined with augmentation of the number contained by each cluster. If we compare the sprinklings in regions inhabited by wild tribes with the crowds filling regions in Europe, or if we contrast the density of the population in England under the Heptarchy with its present density, we see that besides the growth produced by union of groups there has gone on interstitial growth."<sup>1</sup>

Herbert Spencer believes he has given ample inductive proof that social evolution as just described conforms with a general law or organic growth. Even plants and animals develop by continuous multiplication of cells and clusters of cells, so that size chiefly results from the number of clusters, density from the number of cells.

In the process of evolution, integration is accompanied by differentiation, or unlikeness of parts and structures, and consequently also of functions. So, too, it is with society.

"As we progress from small groups to larger, from simple groups to compound groups, from compound groups to doubly compound ones, the unlikenesses of parts increase. The social aggregate, homogeneous when minute, habitually gains in heterogeneity along with each increment of growth; and to reach great size it must acquire great complexity."<sup>2</sup>

Owing to differentiation, advance of aggregation is followed by advance of organization, and is followed alike in the individual living beings and in society; for in both differentiation conforms to the same law expressed in the following terms:

"Differentiations proceed from the more general to the more special. First, broad and simple contrasts of parts; then, within each of the parts primarily contrasted, changes which make unlike divisions of them; then, within each of these unlike divisions, minor unlikenesses, and so on continually."<sup>3</sup>

Since Biological Sociology lays special stress on the analogy between organic and social development, we have to trace the process of differentiation and consequent organization both in the individual organic body and in society in some detail. What are the principal stages in the formation of the individual organism, that is, in embryonic development? In the vertebrates the blastoderm of the unpregnated ovum divides, when the cells have multiplied, into three different layers, termed, in physiological language, epiblast, mesoblast, and hypoblast, of which the mesoblast is latest in formation, because derived from the two others. From these three layers all the different organs and parts of the body are sub-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, § 227.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, § 228.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, § 230.



sequently formed, each layer giving rise to tissues specified in kind, the outer and the inner to epithelial, nerve and muscular, the middle to connective tissue.

After the division of the cells into the layers, the earliest evidence of differentiation is the thickening of the mesoblast, by which the primitive groove is formed. Then in front of the latter two folds rise in the epiblast, joining immediately behind the head, but diverging posteriorly until they are gradually lost. The furrow separating them is the medullary groove, which as the folds, adjoining and covering it, grow upwards and close, is converted into a canal. It is this canal that is the earliest representative of the nervous centres and eventually becomes the brain. Of the mesoblast lying between the medullary canal is formed, by a slow and gradual process, the vertebral column, which is to surround and protect the spinal nerves. First, therefore, in evolution is the nervous system with the brain built of cells derived from the epiblast. Then follows the formation of the alimentary canal, the stomach, the intestines, the oesophagus, and, in connection with it, of the lungs; the hypoblast furnishing the epithelial lining, the mesoblast the muscular, vascular, and connective tissue and the serous coverings. Next in origin are the glands, the liver, the pancreas, the spleen, after which comes the blood vascular system. Of course, the order thus outlined marks the time when the evolution of the several systems commences, not when it is completed; for the fuller development of all vital parts goes on simultaneously, until a perfect and self-sufficient organism is formed. However, according to evolutionary views, the process described represents epochs in the evolution not only of the individual living beings, but also of the whole animal kingdom, for the embryo is thought to pass through stages which exactly correspond to the ascending forms and degrees which animal life has successively reached in the course of its development. This is usually expressed by the maxim of evolutionists that ontogeny is the repetition of phylogeny. Herbert Spencer puts it in the following words:

"The hypothesis of evolution implies a truth which was established independently of it—the truth that all animals, however unlike they finally become, begin their development in like ways. The first structural changes, once passed through in common by divergent types, are repeated in the early changes by every new individual of each type. Admitting some exceptions, chiefly among parasites, this is recognized as a general law."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, § 237 a.

Consequently we may expect—and, indeed, Biological Sociology attempts to prove, a parallelism between the evolution of society and that of the animal species, besides the parallelism between the stages of social and individual evolution. The parallelism between the evolution of society and that of the higher species is considered to be of no small importance, because, if proved to be a fact, it shows that the lower forms of social existence disappear, and the higher evolve and continue in the same way as the lower types of organic beings perish and the higher survive, and it so evidences the survival of the fittest as a law reigning throughout all nature, in human society no less than in the animal kingdom.

Herbert Spencer sets forth this twofold parallelism in its minutest details. But we must content ourselves with the outlines of his inductions. As in the embryo first the nervous system, the future regulator of the entire organism, is formed and differentiated, so in social aggregations of individuals and tribes first the controlling agencies, military, political and religious, take rise, and, soon after they have sprung into existence, divide into branches and orders.

“Always with the maintenance of an aggregate approaching to, or exceeding a hundred, we ordinarily find a simple or compound ruling agency. This is the first social differentiation. The holding together of the compound cluster implies a head of the whole as well as the heads of the parts; and a differentiation analogous to that which originally produced a chief, now produces a chief of chiefs. Sometimes the combination is made for defence against a common foe, and sometimes it results from conquest by one tribe of the rest. In this last case the predominant tribe, in maintaining its supremacy, develops more highly its military character, thus becoming unlike the others.”<sup>1</sup>

“In simple tribes, and in clusters of tribes, during their early stages of aggregation, we find men who are at once sorcerers, priests, diviners, exorcists, doctors—men who deal with supposed supernatural beings in all the various possible ways: propitiating them, seeking knowledge and aid from them, commanding them, subduing them. Along with advance in social integration there come both differences of functions and differences of rank.”<sup>2</sup>

The formation of the alimentary canal and the glands connected with it in the animal organism has its correspondent in the rise

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, § 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, § 230.

and differentiation of classes taking care of sustentation in the social aggregate. Among the lowest tribes, while the men, who have unchecked control, carry on external activities, chiefly in war, the women are made drudges to produce the necessities of life. When, later on, the tribe has grown and obtained superiority, the prisoners of war are joined to them as slaves. Thus, little by little, there arises an operative or industrial part which is clearly marked off from the regulative or military part. Differentiation very soon sets in also in this new division. As soon as a union of tribes is effected, or at least as soon as they live in peace with one another in different places favorable to unlike kinds of production, unlike occupations are initiated, and exchange of diverse kinds of commodities begins to be carried on. Besides the difference of dwelling places, there will be also a difference of abilities among the workers. In consequence, not only various trades are introduced, but also a division of labor is made in the manufacture of the same article. The result is unlikeness among industrial organs, and unlikeness even among the parts and structures of every organ. These component parts and subordinate structures, though unlike among themselves, are substantially the same in all industrial organs, however different the functions may be which are performed by them.

"Be it a cotton-weaving district or a district where cutlery is made, it has a set of agencies which bring raw material, and a set of agencies which collect and send away the manufactured articles; it has an apparatus of major and minor channels through which the necessities of life are drafted out of the general stocks circulating through the kingdom, and brought home to the local workers and those who direct them; it has appliances, postal and other, for bringing these impulses by which the industry of the place is excited or checked; it has local controlling powers, political and ecclesiastical, by which order is maintained and healthful action furthered."<sup>1</sup>

In a word, the rise, evolution and arrangement of industrial establishments destined to manufacture the necessary means of sustenance closely resemble the origin and structure of glands or secretory organs in the animal body. There is similarity between the workers and the cells, between the various crafts of the former and the diverse functions of the latter; similarity between the unions of workers in manufactories and the follicles, in which, as in elongated sacs, cells are clustered; similarity between an organ-

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, § 231.



ized aggregation of unions of workers having a common outlet for forwarding their product to other parts of the social body and an integrated group of follicles which, though each has a separate orifice for discharge, still emit the juice produced to the surface through a common duct. There is similarity between the channels, on the one hand, through which the raw material is conveyed to industrial establishments, and the vessels, on the other hand, through which nutriment is conveyed to and distributed over the whole gland so as to reach even the minutest parts; between the ruling agencies which preside over industrial production and the nerves which stimulate the cells and control and co-ordinate their activities. Diversity of organs is necessarily attended with diversity of function, and the latter again entails mutual dependence of parts, because with increased specialization of functions comes increased inability in each part to perform the functions of other parts. Hence injury to one means injury to others, in so much that in highly-developed societies derangement of one portion causes perturbation of all.<sup>1</sup>

In living beings the organs adapted to various functions do not stand apart, but are reduced to systems, which, when again united, constitute the whole organism; and, what is most remarkable, the several organs are co-ordinated on the very same plan on which the differentiated cells are at first arranged. In vertebrates the cells, as was said above, divide into an inner and outer layer, which soon give rise to a middle layer. So, too, when the organs combine into systems, they form external parts, which deal with the environing existences—earth, prey, enemies, and internal parts which utilize for the benefit of the entire body the nutritious substances conveyed to them. In the lower species of animals, evolution does not progress farther, but in higher grades of life there develops between the external and internal a third and central part, the blood-vessels. These vessels, with the heart as their centre, are intended for the distribution of the nutriment to all the organs, both outer and inner, in proportion to their needs.

The social organism conforms in its development to the latter type. The primary divisions of warriors and laborers differentiate, each within itself, subdividing into lower and higher ranks, chiefs and dependents, free and bond, employers and employed, skilled and unskilled. Yet of whatever kind the differentiated parts may be, they all unite by co-ordination or subordination, and co-operate

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, §§ 234-237a.

to the achievement of a common end, governmental or industrial. Thus, two differentiated systems spring up, the one regulative, the other sustaining.

These are at first in direct contact, but withdraw from each other as society increases in size, tribes are consolidated, and industry is localized and specialized. Then an appliance for 'ransferring commodities becomes necessary. It consists in persons carrying on interchange and in channels facilitating commercial intercourse. Accordingly, an intermediate or distributing system arises—"an entire class of men engaged in buying and selling commodities of all kinds, on large and small scales, and in sending them along gradually-formed channels to all districts, towns and individuals, so enabling them to make good the waste caused by action."<sup>1</sup>

Once established, the three systems do not remain stationary, but ever continue to evolve by further differentiation. The sustaining system, as a whole, assumes such new structures and correlative activities as are determined by the general environment, organic and inorganic, the special parts always differentiating in adaptation to local circumstances. Accordingly, industrial specializations arise owing to the peculiar products with which the several parts of the population have to deal, and aggregate in localities most favorable to success.<sup>2</sup>

The distributing system differentiates in proportion as the two other systems develop. When the division of labor has progressed so far that parts which are at some distance from one another co-operate, the growth of the channels of distribution and multiplication of agents becomes necessary. When parts highly specialized in functions multiply and combine in producing an increased amount of general life, there is also an increased need for large distribution in steady directions. When the social aggregate advances to greater unlikeness of parts and organs, the circulating currents also must be diversified, and must contain not crude but well-prepared matters, and these not scarce but abundant. The structures, too, which take from them the raw materials, to operate on them, and again deliver to them the products, must grow in fitness to perform their proper functions.

The regulating system differentiates in proportion as the social body grows in size and complexity. In a single tribe there is one chieftain ruling everything. When an aggregation of tribes has taken place there are several subordinate chiefs, one for each

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, §§ 240, 270.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, § 243.

tribe, and one supreme chieftain. His power is at first but weak, that of the tribal chiefs being yet too firmly established. However, after some time, as wars with external enemies require combined action and do away with internal conflicts, his authority becomes uncontested and absolute. The chieftains who were originally independent become dependent local centres, serving as deputies under command of the general centre, just as the local ganglia are agents under the direction of the cephalic ganglia. In this stage, all freemen being warriors, the military body is co-extensive with all that part of society which has political life.

Soon the chief of chiefs begins to require helpers in the exercise of control. He gathers around him some from whom he gets information, some with whom he consults, some who execute his commands. No longer a governing unit, he becomes nucleus in a cluster of governing units. Thus is formed around him a ministry employed in financial and judicial affairs and in the revision of laws, and after some time also a deliberative national assembly concerned with the general interests and enacting laws for the whole commonwealth. As evolution goes on in this direction, the king falls more and more into the hands of his agents, through whom he makes his judgments. The ministry begins to rule through the original ruler. At a still later stage the ministry falls in its turn into subordination to the legislative body, and being dependent on the support of majorities, is restricted to executive functions. In the meantime, also, the appliances through which control is exercised, the internuntial lines and agencies, are developed, and what is of still greater importance, diverse organs and structures are formed, through which different functions are carried on; for it is a general law of organization that distinct duties entail distinct structures. In a special manner must the function of regulation be distinct, if it is exercised in departments widely unlike. But most unlike are, in fact, the departments of warlike and sustaining activities. Success in conflicts with other societies implies quickness, combination and special adjustment to ever-varying circumstances. On the contrary, the actions by which sustentation is achieved are, upon the whole, uniform, constant, and altering but slowly. The structures, therefore, regulating these two activities must be altogether different, nay, to some extent independent. Hence they must constitute two distinct regulative apparatus. Commerce, also, when considerably developed, requires a regulation peculiar and independent.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, §§ 251-257.



Thus little by little three regulating apparatus are established, distinct and in some regard independent, still reduced to unity. For one of them, be it that one which regulates warlike activity or that which regulates sustentation and industry, will always be predominating, and, while exercising a general control, impress its peculiar type on the whole of society. As long as the nation, that is the united tribes, is engaged in war, defensive or offensive, a military system of regulation predominates and impresses on society a military type, which is characterized by despotic central power, unlimited political control over personal conduct, and compulsory co-operation. When industry has become general, its regulative system predominates and impresses on the social body a type which is characterized by democratic or representative power, limited control over personal conduct, and voluntary co-operation.<sup>1</sup>

#### V.

By the process thus far set forth, society—so, at least, it is claimed—has approached complete life and activity. It has taken such dimensions as to comprise multitudinous tribes inhabiting a wide-extended territory; it has blended these original units so perfectly as to form of them one compact, indivisible nation; it has developed into a perfect organism by co-ordinating and subordinating all its parts and adapting them to functions different in kind, but completing one another; it has brought forth within itself a regulative power which, on the one hand, insures unity in the universal co-operation for a common end, and, on the other, gives scope to the widest possible freedom. Society so constituted is the highest evolution, consummate in order, harmony, and organization, guided by the best laws not only in the working of its parts, but also in its working as a body, whose aim and object is the greatest good of the greatest number.

Biological Sociology, it is claimed, is thus justified by the most splendid results. For this reason it would seem also to recommend itself as the solution of a great problem presented to the modern mind. As a new moral science had to be devised after the Infinite Good had been denied and the Divine Lawgiver and Rewarder of virtue and Avenger of vice set aside, so a new social theory is needed, after nature has been emancipated from the Creator and made the last origin of society and ultimate basis of social order. A task, indeed, of no easy performance; for from matter in a chaotic condition there must be derived not only

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, § 270.

the individual man with his wonderful intellectual gifts, but also the social organism in which millions of human beings co-operate to start and advance civilization, arts, sciences, industry, peace, and justice. And from laws which in their nature are not distinct from those of the corporal world there must be drawn rules which, in the absence of a divine extra-mundane Lawgiver, are sufficient by their own intrinsic strength to enforce order, curb and control human passions, overcome innate egoism, elevate mankind above the low and sensual pleasure to pure and disinterested virtue. Nor is it becoming to perform this task but imperfectly, arduous though it be. Since the theory to be devised is intended to supersede the views of all former ages, it should broach a more enlightened doctrine and support order more firmly than the Christian teaching has done for so many centuries. It should keep up with modern thought bent on scientific research, on progress and higher culture, and stimulate to ever more perfect civic virtues based on solid truth and profound knowledge. It should, in particular, be a new light in higher education leading the present generation to more advanced civilization and showing it a shorter and safer path to universal happiness than was known heretofore in ages more or less benighted.

Herbert Spencer is confident that his Biologic Sociology is the theory demanded by our age of progress, and his admirers find his confidence borne out by the unsurpassed thoroughness and depth of his philosophic speculation. For an unprejudiced mind this is, however, not at once a decisive motive. An unconditional acceptance of his views would follow only after a careful examination has evinced that in reality he has advanced a satisfactory solution of the great problem by fully interpreting the origin of society and by laying down wise and beneficent laws for the development and ultimate perfection of social life.

A criticism of Biologic Sociology may be written from a two-fold point of view, according as the theory of evolution is admitted or rejected. Evolutionary views may be espoused, and yet it may be denied that Herbert Spencer's Sociology is the logical and necessary outcome of them, or that it is a full and consistent interpretation of social phenomena, the premises on which it rests being too vague to admit of the conclusions drawn as necessary consequences, or the facts, from which it starts, being generalized illegitimately and not with due exactness. Evolution may be denied either as a whole or as applicable to man's higher faculties and to human society. Theistic philosophers mostly deny it in its full extent. Yet whether complete or incomplete, its denial always

entails the repudiation of Biologic Sociology; for there can be no development of the higher from the lower by merely material forces, and according to merely organic laws, where we have to deal with free will in an immaterial sphered action. Nor can chaotic matter be considered as the ultimate origin of things when it is known that the Self-Existent is infinitely perfect; for, being such, it is the cause of the finite world not by immanent self-evolution, but by creation.

The limits of the present essay, already too lengthy, do not allow us to centre on any criticism. Yet uncriticized and unexamined a theory should not pass which, purporting to supplant the social science accepted nearly from the beginning of history as the firm basis of order and prosperity, advances tenets and interpretations scarcely intelligible, not only from their novelty, but much more from their utter abstruseness.

JOHN J. MING, S.J.

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## THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION.

**I**N April, 1895, this REVIEW published the words of Mr. John S. Ewart, Q.C., the enthusiastic and chivalrous counsel for the Manitoba Catholics in their struggle against the instinct and prejudice of a young "British Philistine" community.

Mr. Ewart was hoping then to see the grievances of his clients settled by their own provincial government, that so there might be no great public Canadian quarreling, and that the federal government would not have to pass a bill of relief.

But there *has* been a great quarrel, and there has been no thorough relief of grievances. For the moment there is a lull. Nor has this been violently disturbed by the decision from Rome, lately received by the Canadian bishops, and just now, early in January, made public. Though "something has been done to amend the law," the Holy Father says, yet "the law which has been enacted for the purpose of reparation is defective, imperfect, insufficient." And yet the Pope's words, as they counsel "moderation, meekness and brotherly charity" to Catholics, so they do not irritate others at the outset; nor can any fail, in their better selves, to hear the tone appealing for the gospel law in treating others, and expressing the spirit of Pope Leo XIII.'s own words elsewhere:



"The first law of history is to dread uttering falsehood ; the next, not to fear stating the truth ; lastly, that the historical writings should be open to no suspicion of partiality or of animosity."

Almighty God reminds His creatures once again what is the law of life under His full revelation. Every Catholic Christian must feel now even something more of the great responsibility that is laid on him not to speak or write except in the spirit of His law and His counsel.

Catholics were urged by Rome to avoid, in the interim, the very semblance of being contentious. And these latest words of the Church, while telling them what is of God, and what is of Cæsar, counsel a generous readiness to meet justice in any men, and help it forward wherever found.

The moment is fitting for placing clearly before our minds this school question, "assuredly one," as the encyclical says, "of the greatest importance and of exceptional gravity."

In these pages it is not necessary to tell of what interests are at stake in an education question, nor of how wandering thoughtful minds seem to be looking in the same direction as does the Church—with blinkers on, however, as it were, lest by any means they should be found to be seeing eye to eye with Rome. Still she must be glad, though saddened, too, even if not amused, noting their strange infatuation about the one guardian of the Christian family and school. And her mind is not least interested just now in these matters as they stir among English-speaking people or their fellow-subjects. American readers will spend some time well in looking once again at this school question in Manitoba.

And they will not be offended at information set down here as to the condition of Canada. Many of them naturally know little about that thinly populated country—too little, often, whether they be business men, patriots, or founders of true and wise relations between the American countries of the future.

Canada, *i.e.*, almost all the habitable country north of the United States—so we mean for practical purposes in our writing now—has yet a population of barely 5,000,000 ; the Province of Ontario (formerly Upper Canada) having over 2,000,000 ; the Province of Quebec (formerly Lower Canada), about 1,500,000.

For the whole of Canada the chief religious statistics (1891) are : Catholics, 2,000,000 ; 41 per cent. of whole. Methodists, 850,000 ; 17 per cent. of whole. Presbyterians, 750,000 ; 15 per cent. of whole. Episcopalians, 650,000 ; 13 per cent. of whole. Baptists, 300,000 ; 6 per cent. of whole.

And for national descent the 1871 Census gave : French, more

than 1,000,000; Irish, 850,000; English, 700,000; Scotch, 550,000.

There can read and write (1891): of the whole population, 3,176,667; in Manitoba, 106,250.

Manitoba is therefore above the general average in reading and writing.

For the population of Manitoba, these are the figures: 1870, 12,000 (2000 whites, 5000 Scotch or English half-breeds, 5000 French half-breeds); 1871, 25,228; 1881, 62,260; 1891, 152,506.

The chief religious statistics in 1891: Presbyterians, 30,000; Episcopalians, 25,000; Catholics, 20,000; and the number of enrolled pupils in the schools, 28,706.

Manitoba has been, since 1870, a province of this new Dominion of Canada, which came into existence by the British North America Act of 1867, the act confederating Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and now known as the Canadian constitution.

It is a farming, wheat-growing country—"the prairie province"—very cold and very hot. At first it had been settled chiefly from French-speaking Catholic Quebec. In 1870, the Catholics were 50 per cent.; in 1890, about 15 per cent. This is the minority of whose troubles men have heard.

*Before* 1870, when Manitoba became a Canadian province, there were Catholic and Protestant schools.

*From* 1871 to 1890 there were still separate schools, placed more regularly under Catholic and Protestant Boards of Education—something like those in Ontario and Quebec, where separate schools exist to-day.

*In* 1890 separate schools were abolished in Manitoba.

*From* 1890 to 1896 there were appeals and decisions this way and that as to (Catholic) minority rights, the two chief being (1) that the abolishing separate schools was legal, and (2) that an aggrieved minority had a right of appeal.

*June* 23, 1896, the present Liberal party, under Sir Wilfred Laurier—as he is, since Queen Victoria's Sixtieth Jubilee honor distribution—came into power, and made a "settlement" of the Manitoba school question, which the Catholic Archbishop of that province—Langevin, of St. Boniface—declared to be no settlement at all.

"I do refuse you for my judge, and here,  
Before you all, appeal unto the Pope,  
To bring my whole cause 'fore his holiness,  
And to be judged by him."

With "Rome, the nurse of judgment," it lay to decide for Catholics whether "the Laurier Settlement" is to be accepted, tolerated or rejected.

So much for a sketch of the facts. And now let us go over them in some detail, and be thus able to give a reason for the faith that is in us, taking note, as we pass, of some strange treatment given by the letter of the law to its spirit.

### I. *The Manitoba Act of 1870.*

This was passed by the Dominion of Canada Federal Parliament at Ottawa. By it, part of the Northwest Territory was made into the province of Manitoba. *The British North America Act of 1867* (providing that any province having separate schools before confederation shall have them for all time; also that any province not having them at the union, but conceding them at any time, shall concede them as a right which can never be taken away), *was made to apply to Manitoba*—except those parts of the act referring to other provinces specially; and except as the B. N. A. Act might be varied by the Manitoba Act.

*How did this affect education?*

The B. N. A. Act guarantees separate schools to those provinces that *by law* had separate schools at the time they entered the Dominion of Canada.

Hence Ontario (Upper Canada) and Quebec (Lower Canada) had guarantee of separate schools.

Hence New Brunswick, another entering province, had no guarantee. And the New Brunswick separate schools, existing *by custom or practice* only, were abolished.

[An "understanding," by which, in a few places, certain State schools have Catholic teachers, is all the Church in New Brunswick has kept. And for this compromise there is no protection by any existing law.]

The Manitoba Act had before it the law of Ontario and Quebec (protected by the B. N. A. Act) and the practice of New Brunswick (not thus protected); and *therefore* it enacted that no law should be passed by the Legislature of Manitoba which should "prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law *or practice* in the Province at the Union."

Those italicized words, *therefore*, and *by practice*, let all readers consider over again in their context, and bear in mind when reading what follows.

Now, if you are guaranteed separate schools, "by practice,"



does that imply that you are guaranteed exemption from paying for public or State schools? And the answer is that the 1871 Act legislators either did not consider that, or else that they did indeed consider it, but meant "to keep the word of promise to our ear, and break it to our hope."

For a plain man the meaning would probably be plain that it *did* so imply. Certainly, when the declarations of the legislators were read, with no word in them as to the legally established "separate-school parent" being bound to pay also as a "non-sectarian parent," and when is added the consensus of general public understanding as to implication, then the plain man would feel sure.

So much for the spirit of the law. But what of its letter? We shall see.

However, first, *des pièces justificatives* :

(a) "I think every man in the country understood the Manitoba Act of 1871 to mean that the minority, whether it was Catholic or Protestant, should enjoy the same privileges as the Catholic minority enjoys in Quebec. [The Privy Council did not appear to see the matter in that light. I have no doubt they came to an honest decision, but they went by the strict letter of the law.]" (Hon. G. W. Ross, Minister of Education for Ontario, December 19, 1895.)

(b) "By the Manitoba Act the provisions of the B. N. A. Act respecting laws passed for the protection of minorities in educational matters are made applicable to Manitoba. . . . Obviously, therefore, the separate school system in Manitoba is beyond the reach of the [Manitoba] Legislature or of the Dominion Parliament."

(The Late Sir John Macdonald [Conservative] Prime Minister of Canada, and a framer of the Manitoba Act. *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 248.)

(c) "We [when passing the Manitoba Act] certainly intended that the Catholics of Manitoba, or whatever denomination might be in a minority, should have the right to establish and maintain their own schools. You see, the words '*or practice*' were inserted in the Manitoba Act, so that the difficulty which arose in New Brunswick when separate schools actually existed, but were not recognized by the law, should not be repeated in Manitoba. [And thus the right of appeal to the Federal Parliament was given to make assurances doubly (*sic*) sure.]"

(Hon. W. MacDougall, 1892.)

(d) "Because it was doubtful whether the schools of Manitoba could be said to exist by law. . . . The clause was made to read, by law *or practice*, in order that the minority might be absolutely sure of protection. [We who were members of the Government at the time could see no reasonable objection to granting the same privileges in Manitoba that were given in Ontario and Quebec.]"

(The late Sir Leonard Tilley, Governor of New Brunswick. "The Sun," St. John, N. B., April 28 (?) 1896.)

But now, after this Act of 1871, and before 1890, there came immigrants,

"strange men, new faces, other minds";

and all was changed. The Catholics, as has been said, fell from 50 per cent. to 15 per cent.; and so another "asylum of Papists

... in a remote corner of the world" [Bancroft on Maryland] has found what it is to be ruled by a Protestant majority, to whom in the days of its weakness the Catholic majority gave coveted privileges and its equal rights.

It is easy to see beneath the baser "non-sectarian" surface. What is the use of gazing into that mingled flood of fanaticism and bad faith; whether it be driven along by Burke's "merciless policy of fear," or heard to keep uttering his "uniform language of tyranny—your liberty is incompatible with my personal safety"?

## II. *The Non-Sectarian Act of 1890.*

The men who passed this act, and especially Mr. Joseph Martin, had solemnly and publicly promised not to oppose the language and the institutions of the French Catholics of Manitoba. Mr. Fisher, a liberal member of that Legislature, gives us an account of this, and adds that in the actual circumstances, and considering that promise, he has always thought the establishment of the present school system and the abolition of the Catholic schools, in spite of the protests of the minority, to be a grave fault. Personally, he said, he had indeed made no promise, but he had felt himself bound by the promise, just as much as if he had made it himself. (Quoted from "*La Presse*," Montreal, April 13, 1895.)

For the solemn sworn declarations of witnesses to the promises as to French language and Catholic schools made by Mr. Greenway, the present destroyer of these, by law, in Manitoba, see Archbishop Taché's pamphlet of 1893, "*A Page of the History of the Schools in Manitoba During Seventy-Five Years.*"

Various causes were given for passing the act—the inefficiency of the Catholic Schools, the desire for national unity, and so on.

At first it was proposed that the schools were to be absolutely secular. Then the Protestant majority, in pulpits and on platforms, protested, and Mr. Joseph Martin, maker of the act, yielded, while declaring that he thinks the "religious exercises" part of the act to be "*rank tyranny*" over Roman Catholics.

That men should be found to think that schools of human beings *could* be "neutral" is indeed strange. There may be such men—but perhaps they only think they are thinking. There are, of course, many who *say* they think it. But in Manitoba there was no deception.

By the Act the Manitoba Government took from the Catholics the school-buildings used by them, and an accumulated sum of \$14,000 (acknowledged by letter of government as an acquired

right of the Catholic schools), which sum was then placed in the general school fund.

Now, had the Provincial Legislature of Manitoba the right to pass this "non-sectarian" Act of 1890? Those who framed the 1870 Act establishing the province said no. So said the Canadian judges.

### III. *Decisions of the Privy Council.*

The Privy Council of England, as highest appeal court, said that the Manitoba Legislature *had* the right.

This, then, is *the first decision of the Privy Council: viz., The Act of 1890 is not "ultra vires."*

At the risk of wearying all readers, we so repeat.

The ground of the decision was: You have the same privileges as before; you can have separate schools; the only difference is, you must now pay, also, for other schools. As was said to the bourgeois gentilhomme, "giving = giving + paying." "He, a shopkeeper! a mere slander on a man who was a judge of cloth, and therefore liked to give it kindly to his friends—if they paid him."

And *the second decision* (January 29, 1895) *of the Privy Council* was: That *the minority in a province has the right of appeal to the Federal Parliament.*

What did the Privy Council here say?

That the Federal Parliament ("the Governor-General in Council") "has jurisdiction to make remedial orders as far only as the circumstances of each case may require" (Manitoba Act, 1871); "that this appeal is well founded"; but that the particular remedy need not be pointed out. It said:

"That it is not essential that the statutes repealed by the Act of 1890 should be re-enacted, or that the precise provisions of these statutes should be again made law. The system of education embodied in the Acts of 1890 no doubt commends itself to, and adequately supplies, the wants of the great majority of the inhabitants of the province. All legitimate ground of complaint would be removed if that system were supplemented by provisions which would remove the grievance upon which the appeal is founded, and were modified so far as might be necessary to give effect to those provisions."

Now, do readers thoroughly understand these two decisions? and will they forgive the sorrow upon sorrow of repetition?

By decision 1st, the "Non-Sectarian" Act is legal; Catholics may still have their own schools, but must pay for others.

By decision 2d, Catholics may appeal, and the Federal Government has a right to interfere.

*What is the result of these decisions?*

The first stands by the letter of the law. You thought the gift



a gift; you must pay for it, however. Nothing has been taken away; you still have it.

"Is that the law?" Does the law not mean that if I have as before, I do not also pay for what is got by others? And the answer comes: "I cannot find it; it is not in the bond."

To your masters, indeed, we, the Privy Council, say: "It is not so expressed," but, "it were well you do so much for charity."

*"Charité, charité chérie!"*

This, then, is the net result of the Privy Council's decisions:

(a) The letter of the law is against you; you have had no rights and no privileges taken away.

(b) You can appeal, we imply, to the principles of general justice, and to those who have jurisdiction to remedy the legitimate grievances we imply that you have—the grievance of your hard but fated lot.

The present writer has to say that he has come to his conclusions, expressed above, not without some patient and serious thought, not without considerable reluctance, and certainly not without some contempt for

*"the ways of men so vain and melancholy."*

However, the Church, rather than the Revolution, will be the last to give up singing:

*"S'il tombe, nos jeunes héros,  
L'Église en produit de nouveaux,  
Contre vous tout prêts à se battre."*

#### IV. *The Remedial Bill* (1895-96).

The decisions of the highest court having been given, the Federal government "advised" the provincial government to apply the suggested remedy. They answer made, "they would not."

*The following are the terms of this Remedial order:*

(a) The right to build, to maintain, equip, manage, conduct and support Roman Catholic schools in the manner provided for by the said statutes, which were repealed by the two Acts of 1890 aforesaid.

(b) The right to share proportionately in any grant made out of the public funds for the purpose of education.

(c) The right of exemption of such Roman Catholic schools from all payment or contribution to the support of any other schools.

The Conservative Government then itself brought in a Remedial Bill, which died (1896) with the Parliament in which it was discussed and obstructed. In this bill there was no appropriation of money for the schools of the minority.

And now as to *the treatment the decisions received indirectly by the action of those supporting and those resisting the Dominion Conservative Government.*

It may be recalled here that the Conservatives have been the Orange party and the Anglican party in Ontario, and also the old-fashioned Clerical party in Quebec ("les Bleus"). The Liberals have been more or less, as in England, the younger English-speaking men with ideas of change, and those less religious. They stand more or less as the Liberals stood a generation or so back in England, in the heyday of popular education, free trade, Philistinism, and general scientific progress and forgetfulness of original sin. In Quebec the Liberals ("les Rouges") have gathered into their ranks the "emancipated," the pleasure-seekers, the *anti-cléricaux*, much after the manner of France, together, indeed, with many nobler souls, and with those ready for perhaps generally wise educational reforms. The Conservatives have been for protection, the Liberals for free trade; the Conservatives for England, the Liberals for America. But these are only suggestions, and nowadays this new Liberal government is more Imperialist than the most Imperialist Conservative. The Liberals would call the Conservatives "the stupid party." The retort is, "the disloyal party," by the Conservatives who opened up the West by the Canadian Pacific Railway.

It seems that Canadian political corruption cannot be beaten anywhere, and that "base politicians" of all sorts will there, as elsewhere, talk high words, deceiving (God knows) perhaps even themselves, taking "upon us the mystery of things. As if we were God's spies."

And so good men and bad spoke and wrote in 1895 and 1896, after the times mentioned in this REVIEW by Mr. Ewart.

To the French Catholics in Quebec the Liberals came and said: "Behold those wicked Tory Orangists;" and thus these Liberals to the Ontario Orangemen: "You see those priest-ridden Tories in Quebec."

And Conservatives told the French that the Liberals were destroyers of Church and family and State, and Conservatives told the English that to destroy that disloyal French Church and State was indeed a great aim, to be perhaps silently pursued.

In the fight over the Remedial Bill the Conservatives said: "Obey the Constitution as expressed by the highest court"; the Liberals said: "We protest against coercing a province." It was hard for the French Catholics to look for sound champions among Orange Tories; and to have a French Canadian Premier seemed a

grand triumph. This would-be (and to-be) Premier, besides, said he would do better for Catholics with the help of the Manitoba government than the Conservatives would ever do by their trying to force an unwilling province. "I will not coerce anybody," shouted M. Laurier at Toronto; and there were wild cheers from the young Liberals.

From the first, when appealing for interference, the minority in Manitoba had, by their counsel, Mr. Ewart, argued judicially; the majority, by their counsel, Mr. Dalton McCarthy, politically—"The advocates of the Catholics," said the London "Speaker" (March 30, 1895), "it must be admitted, having the best of the law, and those of the provincial government basing their arguments chiefly on grounds of policy." "However," the bitterly anti-religious education "Speaker" added, cynically, "the Government have issued the order; 'let them enforce it if they can.'"

"No coercion," cried the Liberals. But the French might have answered, as to the abolitionist of capital punishment: "*Que messieurs les assassins commencent.*" Surely it is you Liberals who coerced the minority in Manitoba. Surely on the morrow of the Reformation, when, in Lecky's words, the creed of a thousand years was proscribed by the opinions of yesterday, it was not for the Reformers to cry "no coercion" when the Catholics claimed an open church or two in a city that was once their own.

Anyway, it is the law that there *is* jurisdiction of federal over provincial, that there *is* in this way protection for provincial minorities in religion and education.

Further, the first appeal of this sort was by the Quebec Protestant minority. The Federal Government advised the Quebec Catholic Government to give redress, and redress was accordingly given.

In January, 1897, there was another such instance, which at least may serve as an illustration. School-district boundaries being rearranged, had left a number of Protestants without a school of their own, and bound to pay to the public (Catholic) school. Said the Halifax (Protestant) "Evening Mail":

"The promptness and completeness with which the grievances of the Protestant rate-payers of St. Gregoire le Thaumaturge have been remedied by the Government of the Roman Catholic Province of Quebec should incite the Protestants of Canada to exhibit an equally commendable spirit in respect to the grievance of the Roman Catholic citizens of Manitoba. Squirming and wriggling and trying to find excuses for not respecting the conscientious objections of others, and for not keeping faith with those of a different creed, do not look well when compared with the recent action of the Quebec Government."

Oh, but, we hear on one side, amid all the voices crying round



about, the Quebec and the Manitoba cases are not alike. True; but not for the reason you think or echo. They *are* alike in this: that Manitoba's *practice* is covered by the Acts, as well as Quebec's *law*. Only to Quebec's law is added: you need not pay other schools, and this is not added to Manitoba's practice. There is the real difference. Quebec law could not, by the Privy Council's letter-of-the-law decisions, save the Protestant minority from paying for Catholic schools also, if there were no clause exempting them; and if, we may add, the Catholic majority had ceased to have a go-to-confession conscience as to duty to their neighbors.

From Protestant Liberal Manitoba, however, was heard, in the words of the already-quoted Mr. Fisher of Winnipeg:

"The Federal authorities must not coerce Manitoba, we are told. . . . In Manitoba it is coercion—is it?—for the Federal authorities to entertain an appeal specially provided by the Constitution for the protection of a certain number of her Majesty's subjects. But . . . in Quebec, under a like measure, it is otherwise." (January, 1896.)

"I look at it," said the Protestant Conservative, Sir Leonard Tilley, in the same year, "as a solemn compact between the Parliament of Canada and the people of Manitoba. . . . It seems to me that sympathy ought to go out to the aggrieved in Manitoba, rather than to the aggressor. . . . If it were Quebec Province that had repealed the provisions allowing Protestants their separate schools, we should all have protested, and have demanded protection, as we should have been justified in doing."

So far so good. We are on high ground, even if the adversary cannot follow. But Mr. Fisher comes down to where he is, later on, honorably worsted.

"Not only is there a right of appeal," he says, "but the facts show that the minority have been aggrieved by the law of 1890 in that *they have been deprived of valuable privileges* that they enjoyed by law for nearly twenty years—privileges in the enjoyment of which the Constitution was intended to protect them."

Now, the Privy Council—again this has to be repeated to the good Protestant's unwilling ears—distinctly says that by its letter-of-the-law reading, *the minority have not been deprived of privileges*, though such privileges have been "affected."

They had privileges. True. They have (practically) lost them. But yet—they have not lost them. It sounds like a legal joke. But it is no joke for Catholics in Manitoba.

The same answer must be made to the words of the Conservative Catholic, M. Ouimet, that the Privy Council

"Déclara que de fait les Catholiques (a) *avaient acquis* par la législation en force jusqu' à 1890, *des droits, qui ne pouvaient leur être enlevés* sans leur assentiment, et que (b) *c'était le devoir du gouverneur général en conseil* (i.e., the Federal Parliament) d'intervenir pour (c) leur faire rendre leurs écoles séparées telle qu'elles existaient avant la loi de 1890."

The answer is that the Privy Council said neither (a), nor (b), nor (c).

If the provincial minority had been *de jure* deprived of privileges, as well as *de facto*, then the Privy Council's first decision could not stand, even in its own eyes.

As to the *duty* of intervening, Mr. Fisher speaks more correctly than M. Ouimet :

"The opinion is 'advisory,' to assist the Federal Government in coming to an opinion. . . . But"—and he is on high, safe ground again—"it is one thing to say that Parliament is not 'bound' by the opinions of the Court; it is quite a different thing to say that there is no moral obligation to give relief in a case in which the Court has found there is a grievance, and that the Constitutional Act is a 'Parliamentary compact' by which the Crown was pledged to protect the minority against such a grievance."

In the old days, indeed, when it was the Quebec Protestant minority who were appealing to the Federal Government, the violent anti-Catholic and anti-Manitoba minority orator, Mr. Dalton McCarthy, said that

"The *duty* and power—because where there is power there is a corresponding duty—are cast upon the Federal Government to revise and review the acts of the provincial legislative bodies."

Well may the observant dramatist lay down :

"Les opinions se discutent : les sentiments  
Ne se discutent pas."

For, much of all this is, at bottom (as, both *à priori* and *à posteriori*, our readers have fairly judged), a matter of religious or anti-religious sentiment. It is often kept in the background; we have now kept it there. But all must act as if "things are what they are," knowing that "their consequences will be what they will be." "It is always useful to know the true temper of the times and country in which you live."

On the other side from those quoted, who have been making too much out of the Privy Council judgments as aids to justice, Mr. Greenway, the Manitoba premier, evidently is making too little when he says (a) they do not declare any grievance, but simply (b) note the *facts* of the taking away of the separate schools or the rights. By those manifestly erroneous words he denies (a) what the Privy Council does say, and states (b) what they do not say.

But it does not appear that Mr. Greenway and his colleague, Mr. Sifton, take the trouble even to pretend to be without real

sound anti-Catholicism. One need not doubt they have the real thing in their invincible hearts. There is plenty of it in Canada, as in the poor heart of a passenger down the St. Lawrence, who said that the sight of the village churches there made him sick. He longed to have at them and stamp them out. The present writer heard this man of charity from Toronto. It was a Sunday morning, and the wagons of the farmers stood outside the church doors, and the Sacrifice of Love was being offered within; the Catholics on board the ship assisting, no doubt; and, if true to their religion of charity, praying for those who hate and spitefully use them.

Mr. Sifton's speeches do *read*, at least, like the words of an Irish Tory under Lord Castlereagh. M. Paul Bert's career is no doubt one he would emulate in his own. To pass compliments back from France, Mr. Greenway's acts, as far as *sympathie* and *cœur* are concerned, seem to show, like his face, *la dure inintelligence* of a "half-baked" civilization. Fancy an Archbishop Taché or an Archbishop Fabre face to face with such a personage, who might take exquisite courtesy for an uncomfortable joke, and whose acts might prove the truth of Burke's words on chivalry being gone.

But things are as they are.

And yet not all Canadian Protestants speak as these ministers do. Ministers of another sort sometimes speak differently.

In the Toronto "Mail and Empire" for April 12, 1895, occurs :

"The Rev. Mr. Andrews, the oldest Methodist minister in active service in Manitoba, says that the restoration of separate schools, with a provision for the definite qualification of the teachers and the public inspection of the schools, should be satisfactory to all, but no injustice to Protestants, and would heal the breach which is rending the Dominion."

Yet a young Methodist minister from that province, a gentle but hard-working man, is heard this year saying that he thinks the minority have no grievance. And perhaps the old man stands alone—like Sydney Smith for Catholic Emancipation among the Tory Yorkshire parsons—for he has these words, too:

"As I see it so must I write. When a resolution was brought up in the Methodist Conference in 1890 expressing approval of the act, *I alone*" opposed it.

He said he had been five years in Quebec, and felt ashamed at the moral effects which our School Act would have in Quebec, [he little knows, poor old man. Fancy Archbishops Bruchesi and Bégin agitating to force Protestant pupils into their schools],



having seen the working of Protestant schools in that province. For if here in Manitoba, where the Catholics have had separate schools for eighteen years, we can take these away, just because we are in a majority, what about Quebec?

"We have always boasted of Protestant fair play, yet in this case the might downs (*sic*) the right. . . .

"The real contention [of the Catholics] is that we Protestants have taken what the highest court of this great Empire has decided was their right, according to the declaration of the Constitution, and they are seeking its restoration in a legal and regular manner. . . .

"That it would be better for all to be educated together seems highly desirable (*sic*); yet if the minority concerned think it otherwise, surely we have slender ground to set aside law and justice to accomplish our purpose.

"There is little weight in the argument that Mennonites, Germans and others [of our settlers] may also seek separate schools. No one seriously thinks these would ever be established. Besides, along these lines of action only the great division between Catholic and Protestant has ever been legally received, and no other is likely to be introduced; and the permanent healing of even this breach can only be done (*sic*) by kindness and fair treatment; and this I believe our Protestant people will be ready to accord when the excitement arising from heated declamation shall have subsided, and a calm and deliberate view of the situation is taken."

"The North West Baptist," too, wrote:

"Let Manitoba recognize this decision. There ought to be a readiness on the part of the Provincial Government to be a party to discovering (*sic*) when our legislation has wronged our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens; and upon discovering, willingly make every endeavor to do them justice."

And the Presbyterian Principal Grant, of Queen's University, Kingston, probably the most prominent Presbyterian minister in Canada, moved in the General Assembly, in 1895, the following resolution, acknowledging facts, and approaching them in a temper leaving little to be desired, and inspiring hope even yet:

"Whereas the Dominion of Canada is a confederation of provinces in which federal and provisional rights respectively are finally defined by her Majesty's Privy Council; and whereas the Privy Council decided that the National School system established in 1890 by the Province of Manitoba was within its constitutional power; and whereas the Privy Council has since decided that the Act of 1890, though constitutional, inflicted grievances on the Roman Catholic minority of the province, and that the said minority has the right under the constitution to appeal to his Excellency, the Governor-General-in-Council, for a remedy, and that the Parliament of Canada has the right, in the event of failure on the part of the province, to pass remedial legislation; and whereas it is admitted on the one hand that remedial legislation by Parliament would interfere with provincial autonomy in education, and lead to deplorable friction between the Dominion and Provincial Governments, and, on the other hand, that when the Supreme Court of the Empire has decided that a minority in any province is suffering a grievance that province should, in the interests of righteousness and the general welfare, give immediate attention to the matter and seek to remedy the grievance; therefore, Resolved: 1. That the General Assembly has seen with pleasure the earnest efforts that have recently been made by all the parties concerned to find a settlement of the ques-

tions involved which would give relief to the minority without imperilling either the principle of national schools or the principle that education should be based on religious sanctions, and inspired by Christian ideals. 2. That the General Assembly, learning that the Government of Manitoba claims that there was not available to the Governor-General-in-Council full and accurate information on the subject, and suggests a deliberate investigation, with the offer to assist in making such an investigation, and thus finding a substantial basis of fact upon which conclusions could be formed, and a reasonable and permanent settlement come to, earnestly presses upon the Dominion Government the duty of acceding to this request of the Government of Manitoba. 3. That the General Assembly, impressed with the conviction that national unity and well-being can rest securely only on a spirit of mutual confidence animating the various creeds and races who inhabit the land, trusts that on this and all questions affecting the feelings, and even the prejudices of any section of the people, no hasty action shall be taken, but that, on the contrary, the greatest care and deliberation shall be exercised, full and thorough investigation made, and full and fair compensation offered for any injustice that may have been done."

The Toronto "Mail," alluding to the Low Church Anglican Archbishop of Rupert's Land's words about this difficulty, notes that at least not a word was said by him in favor of the refusal of Manitoba [in his diocese] to act according to the decision of the Privy Council.

As to Manitoba politics, indeed, the "anti-remedial" government was returned last year again with an overwhelming majority; and for Manitoba the words of one indignant writer may be used:

" . . . Then, indeed, has Might usurped the throne of Right, and we in Canada no longer acknowledge that fundamental principle of British jurisprudence, 'Ubi jus ibi remedium.' "

#### *V. The Federal Election of 1896, and The Laurier "Settlement."*

Here was heard the cry from the Liberals-in-opposition, "no coercion," "no interference with provincial legislatures, even if according to the constitution." The cry comforted Catholic Liberals, and disheartened or won over Protestant Conservatives.

Writers like the one last quoted had written as Liberals, protesting that there was a duty of interference:

"This right of the Manitoba minority to Separate Schools was clearly stipulated for, and solemnly accorded as one of the terms of the arrangement under which that province entered Confederation; and the preservation of that right was certainly intended to be guaranteed by the provisions of the Manitoba Act. . . . And are we now to be told that the provisions of this solemn compact are futile; that a wronged minority must look in vain for redress; that the Dominion authorities are powerless to restore to it rights thus acquired and thus guaranteed?"

The Conservative Protestant (such as the son of Sir John Mac-

donald) could say—for party purposes, in momentary generosity, or from sound principle—that he would have expected the Catholics to obey a decision adverse to them, and he is prepared to do the same now that it has gone against him.

Even an Orangeman—Mr. Sawers, of Peterborough, Ontario, could say to his brethren :

“ Remedial legislation was entirely and aggressively opposed by me until the recent decision of the Privy Council. But . . . it seems clear to my mind that under the constitution the Roman Catholic minority of Manitoba has a grievance.”

And perhaps even more admirable (in both senses) was the confession of the hopelessly anti-Catholic Montreal “Daily Witness,” thus turning the tables of no coercion :

“ Bound to protect the liberties of the most erroneous faith as much as we protect the liberties of our own . . . we are strongly convinced that Protestants not living as strangers and foreigners in a land, but in a country which they call their own, would strongly resent any dictation from a majority holding different views as to how their children should be educated ; and feeling this in our bones, we, as honest Christians governed by the golden rule, cannot but sympathize with others who do so.”

But all was of no avail—principle, generosity, or craft. The party bringing in a remedial bill by the Federal Parliament, now that the Provincial Legislature had refused to bring one in, was beaten, and beaten by the vote of Catholic Quebec.

But our French champion, M. Laurier, would settle everything ; he will arrange with the Manitoba Government ; they are Liberals together ; that promise stood out because the Federal Government was on the other side ; and so on.

Yet Mr. Greenway, if once false to Archbishop Taché, that he might get into power, was now, with his new provincial majority, falsely true enough. His letter during the Dominion campaign might have sounded a warning :

“ It has been reported that the Manitoba Government would settle the school question if M. Laurier came into power. The Local Government, so long as I have any connection with it, would never make any settlement of the school question which would involve the restoration of separate schools.”

It must be noted that at this election of 1896 many Protestant Conservatives were elected pledged against remedial legislation, and many Catholic Liberals pledged for it. This is important to bear in mind when considering all men and things now, and in the stirring time that may be.

M. Laurier's arrangement or settlement was published in November, 1896. The minority in Manitoba were not consulted.



By this arrangement, of course, there were no separate schools ; but if (1) a majority of the Board of Trustees authorized it, or if (2) a petition came signed by parents or guardians of at least ten children in a rural district, or at least twenty-five in a city, town, or village, then religious instruction might be given out of the time for secular school-work ; for within this line there shall be no separation by religious denominations. If the average attendance of Catholic children in villages and rural districts reaches twenty-five, and in towns and cities forty, they may claim a Catholic teacher.

The Archbishop (Langevin) of St. Boniface protested in his cathedral against calling this a "settlement," in a country where Catholic schools had been given, guaranteed, taken away.

And taken away we may surely agree they were, as Mr. Goldwin Smith recognizes when judging the Privy Council judgment by common sense. For "you *do* compel a struggling settler in a new country to send his son to your school when you take from him, by the school tax, the means of sending his child to a school of his own."

The Archbishop said :

"No Catholic can approve of these schools unless he wishes to separate himself from the Church. . . .

"We wish (1) control of our schools ; (2) Catholic school-districts everywhere ; (3) Catholic histories and reading-books ; (4) Catholic inspectors ; (5) competent Catholic teachers instructed by us ; (6) our taxes, and exemption from taxes for other schools.

"The Remedial Bill gave us all that in principle. . . . But what has been given us in its place? Not one of our sacred rights, not a single one."

"The Western Churchman," described as the organ of the Anglican Church in Manitoba, said :

"Some people, who know no better, speak as if the Roman Catholic minority had got more than they had any reason to expect. The whole thing, as his grace of St. Boniface put it, is a miserable farce. . . . We do not blame his grace if he does publicly announce that the strife is just commencing. No earnest Roman Catholic could accept such a settlement at all. It is not permission to teach their children the truths of their faith for half an hour or even an hour a day that will satisfy the Roman Catholic minority. They want, and rightly so, to surround their children all day long, and every day, with an atmosphere of religion. They want not merely to impress upon their young people's minds certain important dogmas, but to so fill them with a sense of the close relationship that ought to exist between these dogmas and the conduct of their everyday lives, that they will grow up Christian men and women."

Mr. Goldwin Smith, from Toronto, wrote in the local "Sun" (December 1, 1896) in words showing that he understands the Christian ideal in education, though he is out of sympathy with it. His words illustrate what the most cultivated English Liberal

can say, and suggest that in Canada he has a fit audience, if few. Of course, Mr. Goldwin Smith writes, himself, as a disbeliever in Christianity :

"At last the curtain has risen, and disclosed the terms of the Manitoba settlement. They have evidently been framed with great care, and a sincere desire to do justice. They will, probably, satisfy the bulk of Protestants, who wish the question out of the way, and the less-exacting Catholics. The thoroughly devout Catholic no mere safeguards, or hours reserved for doctrinal teaching, will entirely satisfy. He wants the Catholic atmosphere, the Catholic surroundings. He wants the child's whole character moulded upon the Catholic model. Nor is it very easy to see how you are justified in compelling him to send his child to your school, as you must do when you take from him, by the school-tax, the means of sending his child to a school of his own. Our public-school system, overriding paternal right and conscience, rests on considerations of public policy superior to natural justice."

Which, of course, is pretty good Paganism, or Platonism, but hardly good Protestantism for those Protestants who believe in Christianity and its law of life.

The Catholic press in the United States condemned the "settlement," the "Sacred Heart Review," of Boston, adding :

"Nor . . . is it a victory for the Protestant majority. They have defied the Constitution of Manitoba and repudiated their promises before the world."

Adding further what, as was said, must not be forgotten now and in the near future :

"Yet it was the Catholic voters of Canada who permitted this thing, and a Catholic Premier who consummated it."

This coming election, the London "Tablet" had written, will be decisive for at least a decade, and it "fears Mr. Blake's opinion must be accepted as final," that M. Laurier's "settlement" is "infinitely more advantageous to the Roman Catholic minority than any Remedial Bill which it is in the power of the Parliament to force upon the Premier of Manitoba."

Mr. Blake was the counsel for the minority. He is the eminent lawyer, once leader of the Canadian Liberals, now an Irish Home Rule member.

The "Casket," of Antigonish, Nova Scotia, that small but interesting paper, with principles, thoughts and ideas, severely criticises the "Tablet" and Mr. Blake (March 4, 1897). It quotes against him Mr. David Mills, "perhaps the ablest man in the Liberal ranks," who says that the claim to a remedial law, as guaranteed by the British North American Act, implies that those making the claim have a right, and that they are invoking the party to whom the law has given the power of redress.

The "Casket" considers as "almost unspeakably absurd" the "Tablet's" remark that "practically it comes to this: that the judgment [of the Privy Council] does nothing but establish a moral claim on the part of the Catholics of Manitoba to the favorable consideration of the Government of the Province."

And that, as was said above, is the conclusion to which the writer of this article came, independently. So he respectfully says to the "Casket," though thus he seems like the humble dancing-master, who said: "Il n'y a en Europe que trois grands hommes—le roi de Prusse, Voltaire et moi."

*How have Catholics received this Laurier-Greenway "settlement"; and what do they look forward to?*

All Catholics would be uncompromising, surely; and they ought to be so. That is what the world says, when it is not in conflict with the Church's children, nor desiring to get anything of its desires from them or through them. Indeed it has a cynical or amused contempt for what in the American sense is a Liberal Catholic, a sort of Joseph-ite German Catholic of the generations before Windhorst, a political Gallican Catholic without old Gallican religious severity, almost a would-be Elizabethan Anglican. "Render unto Cæsar" and "render unto God" is for them a text whose directions never conflict. Thoughtless, or ignorant, or wilful, or corrupt, they are instinctively sure of one thing, that "On fait avec le ciel des accommodements."

And then the power of party. There are older priests from Ireland, such good haters of Tories that Sir Wilfred Laurier is still well trusted by them. There are many religious Catholic lawyers whose worldly course of rational public life is to be run with the Liberal party. There are thousands brought up under systems of school and college compromises tolerated by the Church; and a sort of public Sunday and private week-day Catholicism seems to them very nice; and indeed who knows how excellent these men often are, notwithstanding this semi-penal-law-hunted Christianity, shy at least and timid, fitting nicely into the modern world's conspiracy of silence about the Church.

All this seems silly enough to those who think, whatever be their religious belief, or lack thereof. The real life of the Church does not theorize continually about it, but simply lives on as if this compromising of some of its members were an ill-fitting garment that somehow was clinging to it, or some malady on the surface, causing indeed, discomfort, and even pain. The only wonder, to those who think, is that the Church is not in practice even more severe than she is, about religious education; nothing, indeed, can



be more severe about it than are her mind and heart. She is not less logical and rational in the eyes of the Revolution-Masonic spirit—deistic or atheistic, as the accidents of country just now may determine—than she is in her own, that is in the eyes of her Lord.

In 1895 one good Catholic and good Liberal almost echoed the words of the Ontario Protestant Liberal Minister of Education, who advised Catholics to refrain from using even their constitutional right of Federal Government power over provincial. Beware of blind Protestant bigotry, the Minister implies :

“If pressed in the present tone and temper of the country, interference will produce an irritated condition of the public mind which will not subside for many years.”

And here is the Catholic echo :

“As the Catholics have now the constitutional victory, it would redound to their credit, and at the same time evoke a generous feeling likely to end in a fair compromise, were the Manitoba Catholics to make a public declaration of their general opposition to any interference by the Central Government with provincial laws. . . . To my mind there is an immense field of usefulness open to a few cool-headed politic Catholics of Manitoba at this juncture ; but I fear they may be disposed to stand firmly by their well-won laurels to the end. Still nothing crowns victory like generosity, and perhaps the clergy may favor and guide such a step.”

Children of this world, and children of light, one may well exclaim, when one reflects on the contrast between victors on one side and on the other.

And now here is a Catholic lawyer-politician of last month (December 8, 1897):

“I have not changed my views on the Manitoba School question ; if anything they are stronger now than ever. Of course if Rome speaks we must obey ; but, I have too much confidence in the far-seeing and progressive policy of the illustrious Leo XIII. to think for one moment that he will condemn the Laurier settlement *in toto* or command us to desert our respective political parties. I have no doubt that he will affirm what is and always has been the Catholic teaching on the subject of education, but at the same time will counsel prudence and moderation for the attainment of the end we all so earnestly seek.”

The writer continued :

We are “between the duplicity of the Conservatives and the failure of Laurier’s settlement to meet the views of the more sanguine Liberals ; between a ‘remedial bill’ unworkable and ineffective, and a ‘settlement’ that gives something but not enough ; between a warlike attitude that can breed nothing but contention, animosity and strife and a ‘sunny way of peace.’

“The matter, it appears to me, resolves itself into three questions : 1. Did the Privy Council decide that the minority had a grievance ? 2. Can the Federal Parliament pass such a measure of remedial legislation as will be a substantial remedy ? 3. If they cannot, what is best to do in the circumstances ?”

As to (1), *he thinks the Privy Council gave no decision that there was a grievance.* The letter added : "That a great grievance exists, you and I admit."

And it must be further added here (as already stated), that even if the Privy Council gave no "decision" that there is a grievance, yet they "admit" its existence, at least by implication.

As to (2), *it is a question of financial aid.* And this writer said :

"It is admitted on all sides that no remedial legislation can compel Manitoba to contribute to the maintenance of separate schools ; but it is claimed that the Federal Parliament can relieve the minority from taxation in support of the Common Schools. Is this so? Notwithstanding that Mr. Dickey, then Minister of Justice, in his speech on the bill when it was before the House, expressed very grave doubts, his camp followers were and are far more confident about it. They argue that as the power is given to do a certain thing, so all things incidental thereto follow. This is the argument of the layman rather than the lawyer. Any lawyer of ordinary reading knows that legislatures frequently pass laws which become dead letters on the statute-book because no machinery has been supplied for the carrying out of them. We have now, however, the opinion of Mr. Blake, counsel for the minority, that such is not within the purview of the Dominion Parliament. It is not denied that Parliament might make an allowance ; but what would the tax-payers of Canada say? With all due respect to his Grace the Archbishop of St. Boniface, I think that he expressed the severest condemnation of the Conservative remedial bill when he said that he admitted that it did not amount to much, but that it legislated the principle, and the rest would be secured afterwards. In other words, a perpetual religious war in Canada, with its inevitable result in a country where the majority is antagonistic."

And as to (3) :

"Now, if I be correct in saying that Parliament cannot legislate a substantial remedy, what is best to do in the circumstances? (a) Surely accept all that you can get, and in the local legislature by persistent endeavor strive for much more. This is evidently what Sir Wilfred had in view. (b) And of his settlement let this much be said : it is better than the one the Conservatives tried to bring about ; and (c) it is far, far better than the one in New Brunswick."

Lettering those words, we conclude that (a) is what the Archbishop proposed ; for you cannot quietly assume that this settlement is accepted so far by all, either within parliaments or without ; it is not, any more than the Conservative remedial bill settlement was.

As to (b), the people most concerned deny this.

As to (c), even once again let it be repeated, the New Brunswick allusion is irrelevant—just as much so as to say to a man robbed of \$1000, "I give you back \$200 ; you are far, far better off than the man who holds \$10 on sufferance." In New Brunswick, before confederation, they never had separate schools by law, as they had in Ontario and Quebec ; and they had no act with the expressly inserted saving words *by practice*, as they have in Manitoba.

Another prominent and influential Catholic Liberal wrote (December 11th):

"As to the school question, I may in a few words sum up the whole case. The Liberals should, I think, have insisted upon getting for our people a system similar to that prevailing in Ontario. . . . I cannot express the extent of my contempt of the Tories for the manner in which they acted from start to finish. It was a policy of delay, hypocrisy and political chicanery. If Tupper had got into power we would be further than ever from a settlement, as some other scheme of postponement would be devised. He has no love for us—no sympathy for our cause in his heart. He went to the country with a cry in our favor, thinking he could capture Quebec and wheel into line the Orange hosts of Ontario. Once in power the juggling would, as I said, begin over again."

A priest of Liberal traditions wrote, on December 12th:

"Personally, I fully believe that party advantage alone prevented Laurier from accepting Tupper's Remedial Bill; that he has made the school question a stalking-horse under cover of which to get into power; and that, now he is Premier, he will accept anything that will stamp out the agitation.

"The Manitoba Catholics are still suffering injustice, and the question will never be definitely settled until that injustice is *fully* repaired."

#### VI. *The Mission of Mgr. Merry del Val.*

It is said that Pope Pius the Ninth wanted to know: "What is the matter with you in Canada? You give me more anxiety than any other country." About Popes, no doubt, foolish stories are told. This story, however, need not be set down as such, seeing that, if not the truth of history, it has in it, at least, the poetic truth of much care in all the churches being upon the Pope.

The present Holy Father sent Mgr. del Val to investigate the Manitoba school question. This prelate was well received publicly, except, perhaps, by the vulgar Puritan press. Speaking fluently English and French, as well as the Spanish of his father's family, and having been brought up in England when his father was a representative of Spain, the Pope's ambassador had power over the material at hand, and won confidence in his good-will, prudence and sympathy. His mission certainly calmed the public mind. Upon the results of this mission and investigation the decision and counsel of the Holy Father has been given.

On hearing a report of a hostile decision, the Manitoba Attorney-General said, in December last: "It seems remarkable, but the antagonism of the minority to the public-schools system has apparently rather increased than diminished since the settlement."

The antagonism is "remarkable," if not in the speaker's sense. The school question is dead only as long as the minority does not stir. That is the net result. What is it O'Connell said? Some-



thing like: "As long as the timid will cower, the cruel will kick." Or was it Sydney Smith? Let them be named together as examples of great courage and unwearied endeavor—Catholic champion and Protestant defender. And let us, thinking of how the old English Protestant tradition has got battered since their day, rather laugh in hope than sigh in despair. The Church is in upon the breakers; but the fact is the sea is always rough, and Popes talk and act as Apostles of old. It is an awful world, because evil exists. There is nothing else awful about the state of the Church now.

Heaven helps those that help themselves; "*aide-toi, et le ciel t'aidera*"; it is bilingual, and suitable to Canada.

The Greenway government (Liberal) organ says, indeed: "No political party in Manitoba will undertake the responsibility of re-establishing separate schools" (November 17th). And Mr. Hugh Macdonald, speaking in Manitoba (as a Conservative), says: "Neither party would ever again take the school question up as an issue." Perhaps not; but these be brave, comfortable words, when Laurier is friend and patron of Greenway, and when French Catholic Quebec is Laurier's support. That the Conservatives, whether as honest politicians or as schemers, should wash their hands of French Catholics in Canada is not surprising just now. But pique yields to new plans, and men will give you lawful payment for your bait. There are other party questions. There is the instinct for self-preservation. Even the weak Manitoban minority may count, when it has the strong Quebec majority with it in the ranks.

Besides, the Catholic Church *does* doubt, with all her heart and mind, that natural good works "have the nature of sin." The Catechism tells of "a strong inclination to evil," but not of nature totally depraved. Men of good-will are heard all around. Judge by some heard in this article. Judge of Canada by the United States. Here is a tribute to true humanity and Catholic schools heard lately from Senator Vest, who was once Indian Commissioner, and who has never lost a favorable opportunity of testifying to the fact that the Jesuit missions and schools were superior to all others; that, in fact:

"Out of eleven tribes that I saw—and I say this as a Protestant—where they had had Protestant missions, the Indians had not made a single, solitary advance towards civilization, not one. Yet, among the Flatheads, where there were two Indian missions [of the Jesuits], you find farms, you find civilization, you find Christianity, you find the relation of husband and wife and of father and child scrupulously observed. I say that an ounce of experience is worth a ton of theory at any time; and this I say, and I know it."

Is not the last report (1897) of secondary education in France striking testimony once again: Decrease in attendance at State schools, 675; increase in attendance at religious schools, 4327. And this notwithstanding aid to State schools amounting to sums almost past belief. *La vérité vraie*, as is said there, is, to say the least, not being less and less heard now. The Ruskin of a generation ago, now, comparatively, *prêche des convertis*:

"Education does not mean teaching people to know what they do not know. It means teaching them to behave as they do not behave. It is not teaching the youth the shapes of letters and the tricks of numbers, and then leaving them to turn their arithmetic to roguery, and their literature to lust. . . . It is a painful, continual and difficult work, to be done by kindness, by watching, by warning, by precept, and by praise, but, above all, by example."

"He that is not against Me is on My side." And if the poet of rebellion half grieves:

"Though Justice against Fate complain,  
And plead the ancient Rights in vain,"

he goes on to imply that there is no need that thus "in vain" the pleading should be; for those "Rights"

"do hold or break  
*As men are strong or weak.*"

W. F. P. STOCKLEY.

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## MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER FROM THE POPE.

TO THE ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS, AND OTHER ORDINARIES IN THE  
FEDERATED STATES OF CANADA  
IN GRACE AND COMMUNION WITH THE HOLY SEE.

POPE LEO XIII.

VENERABLE BRETHREN,  
HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BENECTION.

WE can scarcely address you, which we most willingly do from our heart, without remembering the mutual goodwill and that continuous interchange of good offices which have ever existed between the Apostolic See and the Canadian people. The love of the Catholic Church stood by the cradle of your State, and since the time when she received you into her maternal arms has never ceased to hold you in a close embrace, to foster you, and to load you with good things. The great works which that man of immortal memory, Francis de Laval Montmorency, wrought so successfully and so holily for the good of your country, of which your ancestors were witnesses, he accomplished through the support of the authority and favor of the Roman Pontiffs. And it was from no other source that the works of the Bishops who succeeded him, and who were men of such signal merits, took their origin and drew their hopes of success. In the same way, too, to go still further back, it was under the inspiration and on the initiative of the Apostolic See that noble bands of missionaries journeyed to your country, carrying along with the light of Christian wisdom a more elevated culture and the first seeds of civilization. And it was by these seeds, which were gradually ripened by the arduous labor of these men, that the Canadian people won a place on a level with the most civilized and most glorious nations, and thus became, though late in the field, their rival.

All this it is pleasant for us to recall, and the more so because we see the fruits of it, and they are by no means small, still remaining. The greatest of all these fruits assuredly is that amongst the multitude of Catholics there is a love and an ardent zeal for that divine religion which your ancestors, in the first place from



France, then from Ireland, and others from elsewhere, so religiously professed themselves and transmitted inviolate to their children. And if those children faithfully preserve this precious heritage it is easy for us to understand how much praise is due to your vigilance and activity, Venerable Brethren, and to the zeal of your clergy; for all work assiduously with one heart and one soul for the preservation and progress of the Catholic faith, and, to render this tribute to the truth, without meeting any disfavor or obstacle on the part of the laws of the British Empire. Accordingly, when out of appreciation for your common merits, we some years ago conferred the honor of the Roman purple upon the Archbishop of Quebec, it was our desire not only to acknowledge his personal qualities, but also to render a solemn homage to all Catholics in the country.

#### EDUCATION IN CANADA.

As regards the education of the young, upon which rest the best hopes of religious and civil society, the Apostolic See has never ceased to work zealously in concert with you and your predecessors. Thus numerous institutions for the moral and scientific education of your children have been founded under the favor and protection of the Church. Amongst these the great University of Quebec, adorned and strengthened with all the dignity and rights which the Apostolic authority is accustomed to confer, assuredly occupies the place of honor, and stands as sufficient witness that the Apostolic See has had no greater desire or care than the formation of a race of citizens as distinguished by its intellectual culture as it is rendered commendable by its virtues. Wherefore, it is with the greatest solicitude, as you yourselves can easily understand, that we have followed the misfortunes which have lately marked the history of Catholic education in Manitoba. For it is our wish and it is our duty to endeavor by every means in our power to bring it about that no harm befall the faith and religion of so many thousands of souls, the salvation of which has been especially entrusted to us, in a State which received the first rudiments of Christian teaching as well as of civilization from the Catholic Church. And since very many expect a pronouncement from us upon this question, and look to us to point out what course they should pursue, we determined not to come to any conclusion upon the matter until our Delegate Apostolic had examined it upon the spot. Charged to make a careful survey of the situation and to report upon it to us, he has with fidelity and ability fulfilled the task we imposed upon him.

## THE QUESTION AT ISSUE.

The question at issue is assuredly one of the highest and most serious importance. The decisions arrived at seven years ago on the school question by the Parliament of the province of Manitoba must be remembered. The Act of Union of the Confederation had secured to Catholics the right to be educated in the public schools according to their consciences; and yet this right the Parliament of Manitoba abolished by a contrary law. This is a noxious law. For our children cannot go for instruction to schools which either ignore or of set purpose combat the Catholic religion, or in which its teachings are despised and its fundamental principles repudiated. Wherever the Church has allowed this to be done, it has only been with pain and through necessity, at the same time surrounding her children with many safeguards which, nevertheless, it has been too often recognized have been insufficient to cope successfully with the danger attending it. Similarly it is necessary to avoid at all costs, as most dangerous, those schools in which all beliefs are welcomed and treated as equal, as if, in what regards God and divine things, it makes no difference whether one believes rightly or wrongly, and takes up with truth or error. You know well, Venerable Brethren, that every school of this kind has been condemned by the Church, because nothing can be more harmful or better calculated to ruin the integrity of the faith and to turn aside the tender minds of the young from the way of truth.

## THE NEED OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

There is another point upon which those will agree with us who differ from us in everything else; it is not by means of a purely scientific education and with vague and superficial notions of morality that Catholic children can quit school trained as the country desires and expects. Other serious and important teaching must be given to them if they are to turn out good Christians and upright and honest citizens; it is necessary that they should be formed on those principles which, deeply engraven on their consciences, they ought to follow and obey, because they naturally spring from their faith and religion. Without religion there can be no moral education deserving of the name, nor of any good, for the very nature and force of all duty comes from those special duties which bind man to God, who commands, forbids, and determines what is good and evil. And so, to be desirous that minds should be imbued with good and at the same time to leave

them without religion is as senseless as to invite people to virtue after having taken away the foundations on which it rests. For the Catholic there is only one true religion, the Catholic religion; and, therefore, when it is a question of the teaching of morality or religion, he can neither accept nor recognize any which is not drawn from Catholic doctrine.

Justice and reason then demand that the school shall supply our scholars not only with a scientific system of instruction, but also a body of moral teaching which, as we have said, is in harmony with the principles of their religion, without which, far from being of use, education can be nothing but harmful. From this comes the necessity of having Catholic masters and reading-books and text-books approved by the bishops, of being free to regulate the school in a manner which shall be in full accord with the profession of the Catholic faith, as well as with all the duties which flow from it. Furthermore, it is the inherent right of a father's position to see in what institutions his children shall be educated, and what masters shall teach them moral precepts. When, therefore, Catholics demand, as it is their duty to demand and work, that the teaching given by school-masters shall be in harmony with the religion of their children, they are contending justly. And nothing could be more unjust than to compel them to choose an alternative, or to allow their children to grow up in ignorance, or to throw them amid an environment which constitutes a manifest danger for the supreme interests of their souls. These principles of judgment and action, which are based upon truth and justice, and which form the safeguards of public, as well as private, interests, it is unlawful to call in question or in any way to abandon. And so, when the new legislation came to strike Catholic education in the province of Manitoba, it was your duty, Venerable Brethren, publicly to protest against injustice and the blow that had been dealt, and the way in which you fulfilled this duty has furnished a striking proof of your individual vigilance and of your true episcopal zeal. Although upon this point each one of you finds sufficient approbation in the witness of his own conscience: know, nevertheless, that we also join with it our assent and approval. For the things that you have sought and still seek to preserve and defend are most holy.

#### THE NEED OF UNITED ACTION.

Moreover, the hardships of the law in question themselves plainly proved that there was need of complete union if any opportune remedy of the evil was to be found. So good was the



Catholic cause that all fair and honest citizens without distinction of party ought to have taken common counsel and acted in concert to defend it. Unfortunately, however, and to the great detriment of the cause, just the contrary was done. And what is still more deplorable, Catholic Canadians themselves were unable to act in concert in the defence of interests which so closely touch the common good, and the importance and moment of which ought to have silenced the interests of political parties, which are on quite a lower plane of importance.

#### AN INSUFFICIENT REMEDY.

We are not ignorant that something has been done to amend the law. The men who are at the head of the Federal Government and of the Government of the Province have already taken certain measures to diminish the grievances of which the Catholics of Manitoba rightly persist in complaining. We have no reason to doubt that these measures have been inspired by a love of fair dealing and by a good intention. But we cannot conceal the truth. The law made to remedy the evil is defective, imperfect, insufficient. Catholics demand, and have the right to demand, much more. Besides, the arrangements made may fail of their effect, owing to the variations in local circumstances; enough has not yet been done in Manitoba for the Catholic education of our children. The claims of justice demand that this question should be considered from every point of view, that those unchangeable and sacred principles which we have enunciated above should be protected and secured. This is what must be aimed at, and this the end which must be pursued with zeal and prudence. But there must not be discord; there must be union of mind and harmony of action. As the object does not impose a line of conduct determinate and exclusive, but, on the contrary, admits of several, as is usual in such matters, it follows that there may be on the line to be followed a certain number of opinions equally good and acceptable. Let none, then, lose sight of the value of moderation, gentleness and brotherly love. Let none forget the respect due to his neighbor, but let all, weighing the circumstances, determine what is best to be done, and act together after having taken counsel with you.

#### PARTIAL SATISFACTION TO BE ACCEPTED.

As to what regards particularly the Catholics of Manitoba, we have confidence that, God helping, they will one day obtain full satisfaction. This confidence is founded, above all, on the good-

ness of their cause ; next, on the justice and wisdom of those who govern ; and, lastly, on the good-will of all upright Canadians. In the meantime, until they succeed in their claims, let them not refuse partial satisfaction. This is why, wherever the law or administration, or the good dispositions of the people, offer some means of lessening the evil, and of warding off some of the dangers, it is absolutely expedient and advantageous that they should make use of them, and derive all the benefit possible from them. Wherever, on the contrary, there is no other remedy, we exhort and conjure them to use a generous liberality. They can do nothing better for themselves, or more calculated to redound to the welfare of their country, than to contribute, as far as their means will allow, towards the maintenance of their own schools.

There is still another point which calls for your united attention. Under your authority, and with the help of those who direct your schools, a complete course of studies ought to be carefully devised. Special care should be taken that those who are employed as teachers should be abundantly provided with all the qualities, natural and acquired, which are requisite for their profession. It is only right that Catholic schools, both in their educational methods and in the standard of their teaching, should be able to compete with the best. From the standpoint of intellectual culture and progress the design conceived by the Canadian provinces for the development of public instruction, for the raising of the standard of education, and making it daily more and more refined and perfect, must assuredly be allowed to be honorable and noble. And there is no class of study, no progress in human knowledge, which cannot fully harmonize with Catholic doctrine and teaching.

#### A WORD TO THE PRESS.

Towards the explanation and defence of all that we have written those Catholics can very largely contribute whose work is on the public—and especially on the daily—press. Let them then remember their duty. Let them religiously and courageously defend what is true and right, the interests of the Church and of the State, and in such a way that they do not outstep the bounds of decorum, avoiding all personalities, and exceeding in nothing. Let them respect and religiously defer to the authority of the Bishops and all other legitimate authority. The more difficult the times, and the more threatening the danger of division, the more they ought to strive to show the necessity of that unity of thought and action, without which there is little or no chance of ever obtaining that which is the object of our common hopes.

As a pledge of heavenly grace and a token of Our paternal affection, receive the Apostolic Benediction, which We lovingly impart in the Lord to you all, Venerable Brothers, to your clergy, and to the flocks entrusted to your care.

Given at St. Peter's, Rome, on the 18th day of December, 1897, in the twentieth year of Our pontificate.

LEO XIII., *Pope.*

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## DON ZEBALLOS AND THE JESUITS.

VERILY, Divine Providence is ever "playing in the world." (The Hebrew text has "laughing," as in the second Psalm.) Not only does God often visit the sins of parents "usque ad tertiam et quartam generationem"; not only does He generally punish national crimes by national calamities growing out of them, but He at times adopts, in carrying out His avenging designs, means so sudden, so strange, that they needs must arouse the amazement even of the unbeliever. If the simile were not so odd, we should compare the action of God "playing in the world" to the genius of Shakespeare interrupting the awful and pathetic course of tragedy by those more or less comical by-plays which seem to have nothing to do with the catastrophe, yet contribute powerfully to render its effects more striking.

Such were the reflections which suggested themselves to us as we pored over the documents presented in 1892 and 1893 to President Cleveland, as arbitrator in the boundary question between the South American republics of Brazil and Argentina, which His Exc. Don Estanislao S. Zeballos, the Envoy and Plenipotentiary of the latter, has published in two neat quarto volumes (Washington, D. C., 1894).

That the unhappy nations Spain and Portugal should have paid dearly for the crimes committed in their name, and, professedly, for their interests, through their Kings, Don Carlos III. and José I., by their Arandas, Pombals and Florida Blancas, is quite in agreement with the providential law, which even pagans could guess at, that "quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi." But that, at the end of the nineteenth century, the Protestant head of



a Protestant nation—such, at least, the A. P. A.'s hesitate not to call it—should be called upon to decide a quarrel which the Jesuits of the middle of the eighteenth century had tried to prevent or to settle, and for which they suffered slander, exile and martyrdom, is, if we may call it so, a "*lusus historiæ*" which is inexplicable, unless we recur to that frequently overlooked factor of history, an all-ruling Providence, which, whilst it respects the liberty of man, "plays" with events, ever long-suffering, because It is eternal, ever just, because It "searcheth the hearts and veins."

Don Zeballos seems to be neither an enthusiastic admirer nor an enemy of the Jesuits, but he is what every true diplomat, every serious historian ought to be, a clear-headed and fair-minded scrutinizer of men and things, reporting events, as Tacitus wishes—"sine ira et studio."

On page 53, vol. 2, Don Zeballos says: "The treaty of 1751 met with opposition among all the pueblos of the Governments of Paraguay and Buenos Ayres. This opposition has been attributed to the Jesuits, of whom, on this account, history has spoken very severely, in ignorance of the diplomatic secret connected with this affair. The Jesuits were in harmony with the public opinion of the country, and they *were right*." And elsewhere (p. 156): "The Jesuits have been accused of engaging in intrigues. The Portuguese accuse them unjustly; for *they were right*, and were doing an exceedingly important service to the King, their master, by employing their knowledge of South America in order to maintain in his power the immense territories that belonged to the crown of Spain."

The fact is this: Ever since the foundation of the Reductions of Paraguay and Uruguay, in which a people of converts lived under the peaceful sway of the Jesuits, who had conquered them for Christ and civilization, they had been a thorn in the side of their Portuguese neighbors. As early as 1657 we see repeated invasions of the so-called "Mamelukes" of San Pablo. The Jesuits saw themselves forced to organize their neophytes into military companies to resist the invaders and defend the integrity of the Spanish dominions. In this they were encouraged by the Spanish Government, well aware that its own officials would have been totally unable to protect its rights.

At the same epoch, and later—in defiance of the repeated enactments and orders of the Spanish Court—Portuguese spies were met with everywhere, sometimes even under the garb of the monk or the Jesuit. Their object was to explore the country, in which

they thought to find the Eldorado of the Jesuits, the fabulous gold mines which even modern thoroughness of exploration has not been able to discover. Whether these emissaries made false reports to Pombal, or *he* found it to his interest to falsify their reports, is not known; but the fable of the Jesuit millions, the Jesuit empire with its Emperor Nicholas I., the Jesuit armies, cannon and warships, was spread everywhere, and credited throughout the world.

The intrigues which preceded, accompanied and followed the exchange of territory in South America were exclusively the work of Pombal, who ruled over Portugal in the name of Joseph I., whose weak mind he had completely subdued by pandering to his passions and exciting imaginary terrors. Whether it was hatred or ambition which caused him to oppose the Jesuits, whom he had looked upon as the most formidable adversaries of his plans, may be left an open question. Certain it is that he succeeded but too well both in amassing untold wealth and in ruining the Jesuit Order not only in Portugal but all over the world. But the Jesuits rose again some forty years later, and found the body of the disgraced Marquis still unburied and his fortune swept away. And soon after, alas! the Bourbon Courts and the nations that had listened to Pombal, together with the Portuguese who had supported or at least endured him, fell from the greatness they had possessed for several centuries, and he now stands before History responsible for the destruction of "one of the greatest works which human sagacity could devise," as Chateaubriand says. Providence "playing" in the world!

Let us hear, again, Don E. S. Zeballos: "The Indians had been treated by the Spaniards as machines for producing wealth, by the Portuguese as slaves and wild beasts. The Jesuits treated them paternally, and the tribes took refuge under their kind protection. Upon this principle rested the foundation of the celebrated Spanish Jesuit Republic of South America."

Well, the dream was too beautiful to last. "Pombal, envious of a greatness he could not share, had resolved to crush them (both the Jesuits and the Indians). He knew that the Brazilian merchants would approve his design; for the Jesuits, as Mr. Santrey remarks, 'were the only unpopular Order, because they were the only missionaries, who uniformly opposed the tyranny of the Portuguese.' And of the charges brought against them, the same impartial witness says: 'All that are not absolutely false are merely frivolous.'"

In January, 1750, the Courts of Portugal and Spain entered into

a treaty of which Don E. S. Zaballos rightly says: "Whether from ignorance as to the territories in America, or weakness amidst the European complications which were driving Spain rapidly down the declivity of decadence, the fact is that Portugal gained under this treaty enormous advantages, entirely disproportionate, and in truth incomprehensible." Portugal yielded a problematic claim to the Philippine Islands, which Spain already possessed since 1565. In return, Spain granted Portugal an extent of territory which a single glance at a modern map will show us to have been nearly one-fourth of the whole continent of South America.

This famous treaty, in its 16th Article, stipulated a measure which may have commended itself to the theorizing economists or sophists of the eighteenth century, but which to-day would be deemed almost as equitable, practicable and politic as would the transfer of all our negro population over to Africa. It was determined that "the missionaries shall leave the towns and villages, . . . taking with them the Indians, to settle on other lands of Spain."

To insure the success of their new scheme the Portuguese had first to put the Jesuits out of the way, because, forsooth! they knew better than any others the real condition of their lands (even the maps of these countries were made by them), and could not be bribed into connivance at transactions which were so obviously detrimental to their country, and which would ruin their work of two hundred years. During that time they had won for the Church and for Spain many thousands of souls, and for themselves a world-wide reputation for political wisdom and heroic devotedness.

The wily Minister who, soon after the treaty (July, 1750), took the reins of government, found means of getting rid of the Jesuits. To forestall any opposition to his plans in Portugal he had them removed from Court, and when intimidation and slander had proved unsuccessful he had recourse to the vilest and most cruel persecution. To prevent Spain from awakening from her slumbers, the negotiations were carried on, not through the ordinary diplomatic channels, but through the Queen of Spain, Doña Barbara, the sister of Joseph I. of Portugal. A secret agent of Pombal was placed at her side, underhand correspondence was carried on, and an inexact map was forwarded to her, pointing out the territory coveted by her royal brother and his Minister. Libels were published, not only in Portugal and Spain, but in every country of Europe. The power, as well as the wealth, of



the Jesuits in America was grossly exaggerated. They were accused of illicit commerce, nay, of open rebellion, to which they instigated (it was said) the poor, unsophisticated Indians, whom they thus kept under their absolute power. All communication was artfully intercepted, and the General of the Order, in compliance with the Courts, was himself compelled to give orders altogether bewildering to his inferiors and detrimental to their work. It would appear that even the very terms he was to use in his letters were dictated to him. The Jesuits, as a matter of course, obeyed the commands of their superior, and only asked for time to manage the whole affair quietly and peacefully.

Soon, in fact, they began to put the orders into execution, and, though deeply regretting the situation, they hoped to succeed. But the relentless tools of Pombal could brook no delay. The consequence was that the Indians, growing suspicious as well of the Fathers as of the civil and military agents of Spain, finally revolted. Had they been united in their movements, and especially had they been guided by the Jesuits, as when, on former occasions, they had fought for Spain, they could easily have overpowered the mere handful of Spanish and Portuguese soldiers that had come to drive them from their homes. As it was, the Indians were subdued, scattered in every direction, and have never since recovered from the blow.

The unhappy Jesuits had to suffer for the crimes and blunders of their adversaries. The infidel press all over Europe, altogether in the hands of Pombal and his abettors—the philosophers and the secret orders—invented a term *ad hoc*: The Jesuit war in South America. It is impossible—at the present time, and with the historical data we possess—to read the papers and pamphlets of that epoch without experiencing a feeling of pity at the credulity of the people that allowed themselves to be deceived by the hollow productions of Pombal and his confrères at Lisbon, Madrid, Paris, and, alas! at Rome itself. But the calumny produced its effects: “Mentez toujours,” Voltaire had said; “il restera toujours quelque chose!” The Jesuits were expelled from Portugal in 1759, from France in 1763, and from Spain in 1767. In 1773 the Holy See itself, and the whole world with it, heretic Prussia and schismatic Russia excepted, followed the example of the three Catholic countries. Thus were verified the words of our Lord: “Eritis odio omnibus propter nomen meum.”

But, after all, the scheme failed to a great extent. The politicians found—too late—that it is easier to make covenants and enact laws on paper than to have them observed. Already the

following year it was thought necessary to agree upon additional clauses, which proved equally ineffectual. Of the commissioners sent to survey the boundaries, one party came too late and another was deceived by their Indian guides (unless these were tools of Portugal). The directions given to the surveyors were found impracticable, either because they were too vague or because the international committee agreed to spare themselves the trouble of following them. According to Don Zeballos, it would appear that a false map was substituted for the original one which formed the basis of the treaty.

Meanwhile, something or some person must have opened the eyes of the Spanish Government. Already, in 1755, but especially in 1759, it seriously endeavored to annul the treaty of 1750. This change of policy was probably due to the reading of a lengthy document of eighteen pages now published by Don Zeballos from the archives of Madrid. It is addressed by one "Honorable Regent" of Buenos Ayres, evidently a Jesuit, to José Payes, the Father Procurator-General of the Missions. The author probably was the Rev. Rector of Buenos Ayres, and its date about 1758, not 1756, as Don Zeballos thinks (since events of 1757 are mentioned in it). The document describes in the calmest tone, in the most business-like manner, and in all its details, the whole situation, and leads the reader to draw his own conclusions about the perfidy of the Portuguese and the blindness of the Spanish rulers.

A decree of Joseph I., on the 3d of September, 1759, expelling the Jesuits, was, Don Zeballos says, "the revenge for the opposition made by the Jesuits. A sterile vengeance!" Seven hundred and forty-seven Jesuits, mostly Portuguese, had already been transported to Civita Vecchia; some 200, mostly Germans and Italians, were confined in the dungeons of Azpeitano and Fort Juliao, where they were to linger till 1777. The vacancies created by death were soon filled by the coming of other missionaries from all parts of Asia, Africa and America where Portugal ruled. Queen Barbara had died August 20, 1758, and Ferdinand VI. on August 10, 1759. Don Carlos III. was not so easy to manage as his predecessor (though, at length, even his proverbial obstinacy was to finally give way before the intrigues of Alba, Aranda, Azara and Florida Blanca).

A royal cedula of Don Joseph (October 27, 1760) appointed commissioners for the partial abrogation of the treaty of 1750, and a new one was signed at Pardo, February 12, 1761. The reasons given for this treaty were that "after a series of successive

experiences . . . . such and so great difficulties were found . . . . that it has been impossible . . . . to this date to obviate them . . . . which have given many frequent motives . . . . and would give in the future to controversies and disputes," etc." Henceforth hostilities were to be suspended, and boundaries definitely settled by mutual agreement. All this was very clear; but Pombal was still alive, and by destroying the influence of the Jesuits at the Spanish Court he could hope still to conquer them. Consequently naught was done, and things remained in *statu quo*.

The year 1777 saw many changes in Portugal. The Jesuits were no more. Joseph I. died February 20th, and with him fell his powerful Minister. He was condemned to death, but was spared by Queen Maria, in consideration of her father. The dungeons were opened and gave back their victims, more dead than alive. Florida Blanca, who had just replaced Grimaldi in the councils of Don Carlos III., was anxious to show his skill and influence by some *coup d'état*. After his first conversation on the subject with the Portuguese ambassador, Cotinho, the latter wrote to his government for instructions, expressing it as his opinion that Portugal should avail itself of the opportunity, "because," he said, "if, in the time it (the treaty) was made, a Portuguese Queen, willing to overcome all difficulties, could not accomplish it, how much the more difficult to overcome would not be the re-establishment of a cancelled treaty, hated by the King, make it?"

The Preliminaries of St. Ildefonso (October 1, 1777) and the treaty of Pardo (March 11, 1778) were intended to settle all difficulties. Florida Blanca wrote to Aranda, his ambassador at Paris, saying: "I have settled the old dispute, which it was in every respect to our interest to terminate, inasmuch as the injuries occasioned to us by sustaining it by far exceeded whatever sacrifices we have been obliged to make," etc. But, though Florida Blanca had yielded to Portugal almost all it had won in the original treaty of 1750, yet the settlement settled nothing. The very next year (February 5, 1779) the Viceroy of Buenos Ayres forwarded to the Minister the candid opinion of one Brigadier-General Don José di Sá, who evidently was no diplomat, but an honest military officer, well acquainted with the matter in question. "Your excellency can imagine," he says, "how violent a transmigration of Spaniards and Indians therein settled would be, and, also, what would be the consequence, especially among those recently converted to the Faith, who, on the slightest movement, get frightened and run to the woods."

And "run to the woods" they did—never to return. After



some beautiful passages from Southey and others, Marshall concludes: "Such is the last chapter of a history more full of sadness than any other in the modern annals of our race. Out of a population of 100,000 persons inhabiting 30 towns under the control of the Jesuits . . . not a thousand souls remained in 1825."

After these fruitless transactions came the French Revolution, whose evil effects were felt in Spain and Portugal. The American colonies separated from the mother countries, and, strange but true, one of their complaints was that Spain had arbitrarily deprived them "of the Jesuits, to whom we owe our social state, all our instructions and services, with which we can never dispense." Portugal or Brazil, her successor, occupied the greater part of the territory granted by the treaty of San Ildefonso; but the boundaries were never settled until Argentina raised the question again in our time. But we shall pass over this part of the history as foreign to our purpose.

There are, however, other parts of the work of Don Zeballos that deserve our attention. Page 285 of the first volume gives the names of the 14 Jesuit missions in the Diocese of Paraguay and of the 17 in the Diocese of Buenos Ayres, with their respective geographical positions in degrees and minutes; also the number of families and (adult) members, with the names of the missionaries in charge. Some of the missions had been at different times changed from their original localities either in consequence of the unhealthiness of the place, the incursions of the Portuguese, or the rapid increase of population. Two former missions comprised 9105 families, with 36,540 souls, and the latter 12,585 families, with 50,684 souls; in all, 21,690 families, with 87,224 souls, or about 4 souls (taxable adults only) to each family. Of the 71 Fathers, 3 bear apparently Italian and 20 apparently German names; of the 6 Brothers, employed as physicians, 1 seems to have been an Italian and 3 were Germans. The other Fathers and Brothers are Spaniards, and a few, perhaps, Portuguese. In 7 of these missions the census of 1750 gave 23,724 souls, which, in 1825, were reduced to 10,774.

Another remarkable document is a Royal cedula, dated Buen Retiro, December 28, 1743. Various accusations, based on popular clamor and the unfavorable reports of certain officials in South America, had been brought before the Council of the Indies. The King (Philip V.) stated that an investigation had been ordered, both official and secret. It produced, what such experiments commonly produce, very little that is clearly in justification of or in

opposition to the charges, thirteen in number. The irregularity of taxation and the confusion of the accounts are chargeable partly to the negligence of the officials and partly to the ever-changing numbers and residences of the Indians; the census has been as greatly exaggerated by some as it has been understated by others; the Jesuits have acted mostly in virtue of privileges granted them by the King himself and his predecessors, on account of the exceptional condition of the colony. The decree ratifies all that is past; gives some—more or less vague—directions for the future, and forbids all changes not authorized by new laws. It gives unreserved praise to the religious knowledge and eminent morality of the Indians, as proved by the uniform testimony of the bishops of Paraguay and Buenos Ayres, and by the governors of those provinces, who have at different times visited the reductions and examined the condition of things. The lengthy document—which evidently did not become clearer by being translated into English by a person (not Señor Zeballos) who seems to have been a rather indifferent scholar both in Spanish and English—concludes thus: "In no other part of the Indies is there more respect to my dominion and government than in these pueblos, nor is my royal patronage and ecclesiastical and royal jurisdiction so well established as shown by the continuous visits of the ecclesiastical prelates and governors, and by the blind obedience with which they carry out their orders, etc. . . . I have resolved that these royal letters be given expressing to the provincial the gratitude, with which I remain, after seeing the false calumny and lies . . . destroyed by so many proofs and the religion so well applied to everything tending to the service of God and mine and of those unfortunate Indians; and that I hope that they will continue in the future with the same zeal and fervor in the conversion and care of the Indians."

Lastly, one of the features of the work of Sr. Zeballos is its maps belonging to different epochs and the discussion of their different value. The Portuguese alleged in their favor the original maps of the Jesuits, preserved in the archives of Rome. Don Zeballos—rightly, we think—objects to their use, because, owing to the circumstances of time and place, they were drawn without scientific correctness, being intended simply for the direction of the mediate Superiors of the Order. As it was sufficient for these to know the names of the missions and their relative positions, the exact distances were not given in the maps. As time went on, the Jesuits took care to determine the geographical data—in degrees and minutes—by the aid of which scientific maps could

finally be constructed. The secret map of José Monteiro de Carvalho, sent to Queen Barbara in 1752, is of that class. It shows correctly enough the relative sites of the missions, but it is well calculated to lead into error in favor of Portugal by exhibiting the country as much smaller than it really is—somewhat like our modern maps of certain railroads, which deceive the eye by short straight lines, whilst the cost of the tickets will at once convince the traveller that the road is considerably longer than he was led to believe. A simple comparison of that “secret map” with the exact modern map of Don Zeballos will show the deception at first sight. The distances in latitude are correct enough, but not so the distances in longitude. For instance, if we measure off on the Tropic of Capricorn the distances from Parana to Uruguay, and thence to the Atlantic, we find in the secret map the proportion to be as 2 inches to 4, whilst in reality it is as 3 degrees to 9, which is no small difference.

Many other interesting documents and arguments might be pointed out in the work of Don Zeballos. What has been said, however, suffices to show what a valuable mine it contains for the study of ecclesiastical and profane history of those times and places ; nay, for the contemplation, in the history of mankind, of the often hidden ways of Divine Providence reacting “from end to end mightily,” ordering “all things sweetly.”

C. WIDMAN, S.J.

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## IN MEMORIAM.

MR. CHARLES A. HARDY.

THE rhythm of death and life has become so familiar to ears of maturity that we pay not much more regard to the measure than we do to the throbbing of the engine on the vessel that bears us over the seas or along the river. Old friends drop out, and the ranks are ever being filled up by new faces. Monotony dulls the edge of pathos. Yet once in a while some more than usual irony in the seemingly eccentric ways of death arouses our waning attention. Such a break has occurred by the demise of Mr. Charles A. Hardy, the man at whose bidding this magazine started into existence. There is a melancholy turn of reflection in the fact that pens which a man himself sets in motion with a certain object in view should be prematurely called upon to formulate his own epitaph.

Gratitude would impel us to speak of this departed benefactor in terms befitting his eminent services; respect for his own aversion from notoriety and applause, in life, restrains the pen. Yet it is due to the spirit of justice which presides over the cause of literature to render tribute to the worth of departed excellence, whether in so doing we obey our own irrepressible impulses of gratitude or the no longer mandatory predilections of our deceased friend and colleague.

This is an age of spurious claims in literature. Men who despair of catching the eye or the ear of a hurrying world by ordinary exertion of the pen endeavor to do so by thrusting their own personality offensively forward, as if the man who wrote were a more important object than what he had to impart. If novelty in matter be exhausted, then piquancy in manner is sought to be attained by a great insistence on the self-importance of the writer. Mr. Hardy's whole life and connection with literature have been a rebuke to this pretentious emptiness. Few ever heard of him outside the circle of his business—profession, we would rather say, inasmuch as he was distinctively a professional man; but he chose to

keep himself to a very large extent apart from the ordinary professional ranks in literature because of a native modesty of temperament and a natural disinclination for notoriety. Yet there were very few men, whether profuse in writing or sparing, capable of giving a sounder opinion on matters of high literary import, and very, very few, indeed, who had a finer perception of the intimate relations between literature and religion. For there was never a mind more imbued with the spirit of truth and purity and honor in all things than that of the founder of this magazine.


It was out of the profoundly religious bent of Mr. Hardy's mind that this literary monument was evolved. To promote the cause of religion by some practical means was an early anxiety of his. There were many ways of promoting it in the days when he set out on his mission, and he adopted many. But of all those to which he put his hand, none seemed to him so efficacious as the spread of Catholic literature. It was not merely the ordinary Catholic press which he had in his mind's eye. The higher reaches of the intellect required some means of transmission and interchange, and, fired with the ambition of providing such a medium, first "*The Catholic Record*," and afterwards this magazine, were started by him in conjunction with his partner, Mr. D. H. Mahony. In the *QUARTERLY* Mr. Hardy took an especial pride. It was his incessant care to procure for its pages the best thought of the whole Catholic literary world, and he was successful to a very rare degree. Under his generous management and the watchful supervision of its successive editors it has sustained, through every vicissitude of taste in literary standards, the purpose for which it was founded, and upheld the founder's standard.

Mr. Hardy's position in the matter was unique. His own part in the work of the magazine was never visible ; still it was real, and quite indispensable to its success. His judgment was excellent, his literary instinct true. He was incessantly on the watch for the best writers, as well as for extending the sphere of influence of the magazine. All through, his sole and single purpose was the promotion of the highest interests of religion by means of the highest human instrumentality—the mind and pen.

It is mournful to behold such a man cut off in the flower of his ripened powers, at an age when many matured minds might reasonably look forward to a long period of useful work in any cause on which their ambition was set. Mr. Hardy was not quite fifty years of age when it pleased God to call him to Himself. We may mourn, but we may not murmur or complain. He who gave him for whom we sorrow to the service of the Catholic

cause knows what is best. Nor was it, indeed, until Mr. Hardy had seen his dream realized and his lifework crowned with substantial success that he was summoned away.

Still, his removal has been keenly felt. This is hardly an age of fervent piety, and such piety as Mr. Hardy all through life displayed is, in the case of men engrossed in business cares, of exceeding rarity. He was in the highest sense of the term a devout, practical Catholic, yet not an obtrusive one. His virtues were all of the same order. An exceedingly modest and unpretentious man, his nature shrank from anything like publicity or self-assertion. But he made hosts of friends, especially among the hierarchy and clergy—those best enabled to judge of his disinterestedness, his piety, his wisdom, and his sterling, manly qualities. Honor was his rule, good-will to men his study. He died on the eve of the season when the invisible choirs again take up the burden of that beautiful message, and so left behind him not only a cherished memory, but a sweet and consoling hope.





## Scientific Chronicle.

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### THE DIVINING-ROD.

It must appear strange that science has not yet been able to pronounce definitively on the claims of the divining-rod and its users. There are many things in the realm of magic, particularly in the Orient, which challenge the verdict of science, and yet science is by no means in such a hurry to give it as in respect to the much more remote and intangible things embraced in the term, the "higher criticism." The divining-rod is one of the most remarkable heirlooms of civilization. It comes to us backed with all the prestige of the most hoary antiquity. It forms a link between the fortune-tellers of the present day and the Chaldean seers who gave us the basis of our astronomy as well as the now effete science of astrology. The divining-rod is as much in vogue to-day, in mining districts, for the discovery of the metallic lode and the subterranean spring, as when the Phœnicians, who probably brought it from the East, traded with the mining population of Cornwall. Scientists have frequently tried to grapple with the undoubted mystery which its results present, but so far without arriving at any definite opinion.

Professor N. F. Barrett, a very careful and conscientious experimentalist, long connected with the Royal College of Science in Dublin, recently published the results of some inquiries into the delicate subject. As a scientist, he had approached it with a rather skeptical mind. Professor Barrett is, we believe, a Catholic, and therefore not inclined to the belief in the supernatural attributes with which superstition invests the divining-rod. The rod itself is nothing more than an ordinary hazel twig. But he takes leave of the subject for the present in a very doubtful state of mind.

Professor Barrett publishes the story of his researches in a short treatise entitled "A Scientific and Historical Research as to the Existence and Practical Value of a Peculiar Human Faculty, Unrecognized by Science, Locally Known as Dowsing." "Dowsing" is the term employed to designate the operation by the peasantry in the rural districts of England and Scotland. Sir Walter Scott makes the name serve a characteristic purpose in "The Antiquary," wherein Dowsterswivel forms a prominent figure. Professor Barrett has collected all the most reliable historical *data* he could find, and he places a very large number of surprising cases before the public. A couple of these may be cited.

A sanitarium was to be built on high ground in Somersetshire, England. The site was apparently a dry one. Three professional "dows-

ers" were sent for separately, each unknown to the others, and each working under the conviction that he alone was employed. All three pointed to the same spot. A well was sunk there, and abundant water was found.

William Ward Spink, a justice in British Columbia, walked about over his grounds for an hour, blindfolded, and carrying a divining-rod in his fingers. Every time the wand dipped an attendant drove a peg into the earth. In many cases the justice would pass over a spot where the rod had moved before, and it would invariably give the same sign again. He dug wells at only two of the places indicated, but got water in both. This man declared that if he stood over a garden hose with a divining-rod in his fingers he could tell by its conduct when the water was turned on and off.

At Newport, Monmouthshire, a well was sunk to a depth of fifty-one feet without success. Local experts, noting the character of the soil, then pronounced the quest hopeless. A Cornishman who was present advocated a trial of the divining-rod, with which his boy, aged eleven, had had some successful experience. The lad was sent for. In his hands the twig gave distinct signs. But the people who would have to pay for the excavation were skeptical and hesitated. The Cornishman offered to take the contract himself, and stipulated that he would demand no pay if no water was found. The job proceeded on that basis. At a depth of forty-eight feet the diggers struck a gushing vein, and were obliged to fly for their lives.

It is not only for the discovery of water that the divining-rod is in vogue. Gold, silver, copper and tin are capable of being located by its proper use—at least so it was long believed. Mining populations in the old world pretty generally believe in its efficacy.

How or where this singular practice originated is a question that can never, probably, be settled. It is part of a universal system by which all sorts of agencies were employed as auguries and indications of what lay hidden in physics no less than metaphysics.

The instrument itself is shaped somewhat like a wishbone, and is about a foot long. The tip of one prong is held in each hand, and the hands are kept eight or ten inches apart. The elbows are usually in contact with one's sides, and the forearms extend straight forward horizontally. The twig itself stands almost vertically in front of the dowser's chest. In the majority of cases reported the upper part of the rod swayed toward the operator's body, but in a few instances it moved in the other direction—namely, downward toward the earth.

Those cases which Professor Barrett cites seem to be all attempts at discovering the presence of water. He cannot account for the phenomena, of which he has procured the most undoubted evidence, but he is confident that it is the operator, not the rod, that discovers the water. The movement is not due in genuine cases, he believes, to any attraction or repulsion exerted upon the twig (or the substitute therefor) by

the hidden stream, but to muscular action exerted unconsciously in response to some inward inspiration.

One reflection is suggested by this little excursion into a strange field. Here is a very simple fact in the laws of physical sympathy, the whole circumstances of which are open to investigation, and yet scientists are unable to determine whether it is a trick or a psychological manifestation. On what grounds, then, can it pretend to explain the infinite phenomena of creation and the relation of the human soul thereto?

#### THE SOURCE OF MEMORY-MEASUREMENT.

In a paper by Prof. Alfred Binet, the eminent French psychologist, in the *Année Biologique*, he says:

"Successive investigations have already been made on the measurement of the memory for figures and syllables; these are localized memories, the development of which cannot be considered as a sign of the development of the other memories; we must, therefore, make many reservations in interpreting the conclusions to be drawn from these experiments. An experiment may be made as follows: A series of figures is read to the subject at a regular speed (the speed used is in general two figures per second) and without any special accentuation; as soon as he has heard the series, the subject, having been told beforehand of the requirement, endeavors to repeat the figures without error and in the order in which he heard them. The experiment is repeated several times, beginning with a small number of figures, *e.g.*, four, which any adult can give correctly; it is then increased to five figures, then to six, and so on, until a number is reached which the subject can no longer repeat correctly; care is taken to repeat each trial, and to allow sufficient intervals of rest to avoid fatigue and the confusion of figures in the memory. This procedure, adopted by Jacobs, Galton, and many others, has already borne fruit. It is not, properly speaking, a test of the memory alone; it is extremely difficult, be it said in passing, to experiment on any isolated psychological phenomenon. The experiments taken together show, on the contrary, that the subject employs not only his memory but also his powers of voluntary attention; this explains why children retain fewer figures by this method than adults; their inferiority is certainly due to the fact that they have less control over their attention. The average educated adult retains seven figures; a child from six to eight retains five; a child of ten retains six. A difference of one single figure is of considerable importance in the results, and it is one of the drawbacks of this method that we cannot operate with fractions of figures."

#### ENORMOUS LENGTH OF GEOLOGICAL PERIODS.

There is no subject which exhibits greater divergence of opinion than that of geological time. We doubt if any of the estimates published



have any real value, or have the power to convey any definite image or measurement to the human mind. Figures, it must appear to many thinkers, lose their substantial meaning after they pass the million stage ; the fact that we can say seven or ten or a hundred millions does not mean that we can grasp what these millions have power to effect or that we can follow them out into the beginningless tract of time and space. However, to such people as may think they are able to follow battalions of figures it may be of interest to give the latest opinions on the work of the geological ages. Lord Kelvin estimates the age of the earth, since it was sufficiently cooled to become the abode of plants and animals, to be about 20,000,000 years, within limits of error perhaps ranging between 15,000,000 and 30,000,000 years. This estimate, nearly agreeing with another by Clarence King from similar physical data, has generally been regarded by geologists, says Warren Upham, in *The American Geologist* for October, 1897, as too short for the processes of sedimentation and erosion, and for the evolution of floras and faunas, of which the earth's strata bear record. More probably, as ratios and computations by Dana, Walcott and other geologists, somewhat harmoniously indicate, the duration of time since the beginning of life on the earth has been some three to five times longer than Kelvin's estimate, or from 60,000,000 to 100,000,000 years. The larger figures imply from the dawn of life to the development of the Cambrian and Silurian faunas probably 50,000,000 years ; thence to the end of Paleozoic time, perhaps 30,000,000 years ; onward through Mesozoic time, about 15,000,000 years, and through the Tertiary era, about 5,000,000 years. The comparatively very short Quaternary era, having, in its organic evolution, as shown by the marine mollusca, no higher ratio to Tertiary time than 1:50, may, therefore, have occupied only about 100,000 years.

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### THE GREATEST TUNNEL.

It becomes this country, which has so much of the greatest in known things, to be able to boast of the longest railway tunnel, as it safely can of the greatest mileage in railways. In a decade or so the boast will be justified, probably, unless a cataclysm overtake us. Down in Colorado the beginning of the undertaking has already been made. There will be a series of tunnels, indeed, rather than one, and they will all pass under the mass of mountain called Pike's Peak. The longest of these, which is intended to bring the towns of Cripple Creek and Colorado Springs within easy reach of each other, will be twenty miles in length. The starting-point is at the foot of the mountain leading up to Pike's Peak, near the old town of Colorado City. From thence it runs almost due southwest. The further edge of the tunnel is at the edge of the mountains at Four Mile Creek, over in Fremont County, Colorado, six

miles south of Cripple Creek and near the little town of Sunol. Two gangs of men, already, are working on the tunnel, one at each end. Just at present they are making progress at the rate of thirty feet a day. It is believed that the mammoth task they have undertaken will be completed in seven years from the first of the present month.

The main tunnel will pass directly under the cone of Pike's Peak at a depth of nearly 7000 feet, and 2700 feet beneath the town of Victor. Its average depth from the surface will be 2800 feet, and it is designed to test the mineral deposits of the territory at these great depths. Thirty miles of laterals are contemplated, and these will pass underneath all the Cripple Creek district at an average depth of 2800 feet. Cripple Creek, Victor, Gillette, the various small towns and a thousand mines are to be made tributary to this vast system. Under present circumstances the distance—the shortest way—from Colorado Springs to Cripple Creek is fifty-four miles. By way of the tunnel the two cities will only be sixteen miles apart. It is estimated by the contractors that the average cost per foot of excavation will be \$80. This makes the total probable expense of digging the tunnel and its subsidiary branches \$20,520,000. But these matters are almost invariably underestimated. Geological difficulties arise as the work proceeds, the nature of which it is impossible to foresee, and the problem of lighting and ventilation at such an immense depth as is here contemplated must be taken into account as one of the incalculable factors.

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#### NOXIOUS INSECTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

There are seventy-three species of insects, according to Mr. L. O. Howard, which annually cause losses of hundreds of thousands of dollars in the United States. Of these, thirty are native, thirty-seven have been introduced and six are of doubtful origin, all but one of the species brought across the ocean having been accidentally imported. The spread of insects, like that of civilization, tends westward. While thirty injurious insects have been brought from Europe to America, it is said but three of like importance have reached Europe from America, and it is doubtless a fact that certain of our now cosmopolitan forms were originally Asiatic, and have travelled westward through Europe, to and across America, and thence to Hawaii, New Zealand, and Australia. A similar law is found in the study of plants. Out of two hundred American weeds, one hundred and three are introduced, of which ninety-six are from Palearctic regions, sixty-eight being native to Europe, while it seems that less than half a dozen American species have become troublesome in Europe. A number of American species, however, have been carried to Australia, where they flourish vigorously.

## BURGLAR-PROOF SHUTTERS, SCREENS, AND CURTAINS.

Burglar-proof shutters are being made in Berlin. They are made on the principle of the roller shutters, of strips of iron or wood, but the present improvement consists in the strips being replaced by tubes made of hardened steel placed over rods or on pivots. These tubes can be made up to a diameter of 20 millimetres, or  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch. The roller shutters, for shop fronts, etc., are invulnerable to the burglar's tools for the simple reason that the only vulnerable parts (the sides) are hidden away in the grooves which hold them, while as the tubes, besides being of hard steel, revolve freely, the centrebit or other tools can find no hold or purchase. . . . Strong rooms can thus be made absolutely inaccessible, except to those who have a right there, because ceilings, walls and doors can be lined therewith in such wise as to leave no weak spot. This invention will prove invaluable for the curtains of theatre stages, as such curtains would in case of fire shut the audience completely off from the stage and isolate the seat of the fire (almost invariably behind the scenes), while it is claimed that the peculiar construction keeps such a curtain from warping. The cost of manufacture is said to be but little in excess of the defective systems now in use.

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A VERY INGENIOUS BRIDGE FOR HIGH LEVEL  
TRANSPORT.

French engineers are still holding their own in the race for excellence in invention. The latest novelty is in the direction of bridge building. Engineers are greatly interested in a novel structure just begun at Rouen. It is called a "pont transbordeur," and is intended to serve all the purposes of a bridge, while not interfering with the free passage of ships, even those with masts 150 feet high. Two small Eiffel towers are to be erected—one at each bank of the Seine—and a narrow iron bridge will be suspended by chain cables between their heads. It is to be not less than 160 feet from the level of the quays, but is not intended either for carriages or foot-passengers. Several lines of rail are to be carried along this bridge, and on these a skeleton carriage or platform on wheels will run; this will be dragged from side to side of the river by steel ropes passing over a driving-wheel, to be worked by steam or electricity from one of the banks. To the skeleton platform will be hung, by steel hawsers, at the level of the quays, or 160 feet below the bridge, the "transbordeur"—a strong carriage—within which passengers and vehicles will be transported from one bank to the other. This carriage is to be 40 feet in width by 33 feet in length; electric tramways running on the quays on both sides of the river are to make a connection at this point, and this "transbordeur" will be fitted to carry the tramcars, so that passengers by them will cross the river without changing their seats.



## ELECTRICITY IN THE CURE OF RHEUMATISM.

Apparatus and machinery for the application of electricity to cases of acute rheumatism have been fitted up by Dr. Kozlovski, of St. Petersburg. It includes an arc lamp using the energy of a six horse-power oil engine through a dynamo, and a battery of accumulators. The process is conducted in the following way: The patient, protected by a cardboard screen with an aperture over the affected part of the body, is placed about 5 feet from the electric light. The exposure lasts from three-fourths to two minutes, and three or four sittings—never more than a dozen—are usually given, at intervals of three or four days. Slight heat only is felt on exposure, the skin, however, peeling off in about forty-eight hours. A trial of several months seems to have yielded remarkably successful results in rheumatism and kindred diseases, even in chronic and severe cases.

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## REMARKABLE EFFECTS OF SUNSHINE AND OXYGEN.

The experiments of Mesnard, the French botanist, show that in general light soon decreases the strength of odors, and that oxygen first causes an increase and then a gradual decrease. The perfume of flowers is heightened, however, by the simultaneous action of light and oxygen. Water counteracts the effect of light, restoring the odor, which is weakest in an unwatered plant in a strong light.

The effects of sunlight on the human body have been a subject of investigation for many years by Dr. Robert L. Bowles, an English physician. He finds that sunburn is not due to heat, but is probably caused by the violet or ultra-violet rays—especially as reflected from snow at high altitudes—and that the reflected rays may not necessarily be of the same quality as the incident rays. Snow-blindness may be due to a similar cause, and sun fever may be associated with penetrating rays, while reflected rays burn deeply into wood. Freckles, which are but the milder effects of luminous or chemical rays, stop the penetration of those rays through the skin, as do various pigments, particularly red and yellow. Sun fever has been prevented in India by wearing an orange lining in the clothes and hat. Another illustration of the intercepting power of color is the experience of a lady who, after wearing a linen blouse of red and white stripes, found bright red stripes on her shoulders under the white of the cloth, the red having afforded protection from any action. These and other observations lead to the conclusion that Roentgen rays may be simply modifications of ordinary light. The work of other authors is cited to support the view that the vital changes on the skin are due to the chemical rays, and to those rays alone, and that the rays issuing from a Crookes tube are not an entirely new form

of energy distinct and separate from light, but contain a proportion of luminous and chemical rays, and that light, as such, as well as the divisions into which it can be split up, may penetrate wood, clothing, and the human tissues.

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### STEADY INCREASE IN THE FRENCH RAINFALL.

M. Camille Flammarion, who has compared all the hydrometric observations made at the Paris Observatory for about two hundred years, says the amount of rain that falls in France is increasing yearly. This increase may be seen at the first glance by examining the averages of different periods. From 1689 to 1710 there fell an average of 485.7 millimetres (191.2 inches) of water :

From 1720 to 1751,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	409.4
" 1773 to 1797,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	492.5
" 1804 to 1824,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	503.7
" 1825 to 1844,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	507.5
" 1845 to 1872,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	522.4
" 1873 to 1896,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	557.4

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### FALLACIES ON IMMUNITY FROM DISEASE.

Those who have looked into the subject of contagious and infectious diseases have frequently found how erroneous are the opinions usually entertained on the subject by the unscientific and uninformed. It has often been the cause of wonder how doctors and attendants on patients smitten with cholera and other pestilences escape contagion. Personal cleanliness is the sole safeguard. The experienced doctor merely washes his hands when leaving the sick room, and perhaps inhales some anti-septic odor, such as that of camphor. These simple precautions to a person of regular habits and steady nerves are usually sufficient. Another popular delusion is that persons who have once suffered from an infectious disease are not susceptible to a second attack. An eminent German physician, Dr. Gottstein, has been experimenting in the subject, and some of his observations were published in the "British Medical Journal" for November.

Dr. Gottstein considers it unjustifiable to conclude that because a man does not have an infectious disease twice he has become immune to it through the first attack ; he considers this to be a result of the doctrine of chance. The author dismisses the prophylactic action of vaccination on the ground that this is not strictly comparable with variolous inoculation. . . . Human acquired immunity should, according to him,

be investigated without reference to experiments on animals. He proceeds to inquire as to which acute specifics are definitely held to confer immunity, and by collecting the opinions of various authors finds that smallpox, measles and scarlet fever are alone universally stated to do so. As regards the first two, cases are not uncommon in which the same patient suffers from the disease twice, or even more often, and the rarity of this is only in accordance with the law of probabilities. Three factors combine to add to this infrequency. First, many diseases, such as diphtheria, are particularly associated with the early years of life, so that when a patient is exposed to a second infection he has very often passed the age of especial liability. Other affections, again, such as cholera, typhus and recurrent fever, occur typically in short infrequent epidemics, so that the subject has but little chance of meeting with them again. Lastly, and this is most important, deadly diseases such as cholera, diphtheria and plague spare only those who are most resistant, in whom the probability of a recurrence sinks very low. The author then gives a number of examples of the repeated occurrence of infectious diseases in the same individual, and enters into elaborate statistics to show that the frequency of such repeated infections is actually in excess of what might be deduced from the calculation of probabilities. Thus he quotes from Maiselis statistics of 33 second attacks of scarlet fever, 37 of measles, and no fewer than 514 of smallpox, and refers also to the recurrence of whooping-cough.

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## Book Notices.

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MORAL PRINCIPLES AND MEDICAL PRACTICE THE BASIS OF MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE. By *Rev. C. Coppens, S. J.* Benziger Bros.: New York. 1897. Pp. 222. Price, \$1.50.

The physician who recognizes the dignity and responsibility of his profession, be he Catholic or otherwise in religious belief, often feels the necessity of guidance in the discernment and application of the ethical principles underlying medical practice. Although those principles are sufficiently patent to the average cultured mind, their clear and distinct discernment is largely conditioned by the moral status of the individual, and the full appreciation of their content supposes a special mental training, whilst their correct application depends alike on a certain blending of moral and mental endowments and acquirements. No one so well as the physician realizes the necessity of mental discipline, long study, and much technical experiential familiarity with the sciences and arts that constitute the medical curriculum, in order to form and perfect the reliable practitioner, and no one is so sensitive, and justly indeed, of the encroachment of the undisciplined, unstudied laity into the domain of medical theory or practice. If long and patient study and experience are requisite for the mental assimilation of the facts and laws of the physical sciences, surely a proportionate amount of intellectual training is needed for a mastery of the matter and bearing of the truths of ethical science. Whilst this is true of the acquisition of the latter science in its individuality, it is most emphatically the case when there is question of the delicate adjustment of moral truths to the complex specific duties of the physician. By necessity, therefore, of the absorbing character of his other studies, the physician, both in his preparatory training and in his subsequent practice, must largely depend on the skilful, experienced ethicist for guidance in the moral sphere of medicine—that is to say in medical jurisprudence. “Medical jurisprudence in its wider sense,” the author of the present work tells us, “comprises two departments, namely, the study of the laws regarding medical practice, and more especially the study of the principles on which those laws are founded and from which they derive their binding power on the human conscience” (p. 17). The former of these two departments is cared for in every well-organized medical college by a special professor. If the rights and duties of the physician were set forth and limited by the mere legal enactments of human courts and legislatures, the study of medical jurisprudence in its philosophical sense would be in so far unnecessary, “for jurisprudence studies the principles that underlie legal enactments,

and if there were no higher law there would be no such principles; then the knowledge of the human law would fill the whole programme" (p. 32). The necessity of this deeper science of the higher law is all the more apparent and pressing in that the influence of positivism and monism on present physical science is in the direction of negation of all such law. Several of the leading medical universities of this country realizing this necessity have at times supplied their students with a systematic course of lectures on the ethics of medical practice. The work at hand embodies such a course delivered by its author in Creighton University, Omaha, Nebraska. Works more or less akin written by Catholic authors have for some time existed in French and German, and one of the latter has been translated into English; but so far as the present writer is aware, Fr. Coppens has been the first to produce a work which unfolds the teachings of sound ethics in their precise bearing on those main facts and features of medical practice which lie directly on the border-land and overlap the inter-relations of body and soul, domains of the physical and moral sciences.

The book contains nine lectures. The first outlines the scope of the course and lays down some fundamental concepts of medical ethics. The second and third explain the moral duties of the physician in the matter of craniotomy and abortion. Nothing stronger can be alleged to show the necessity of just such a work as this than the citation in the fourth lecture on "Views of Scientists and Sciolists," from a recent contribution to the "Medical Record." "The writer of the article asserts: 'Procuring the death of the foetus to save the life of the mother is, I am sure, to be defended on ethical grounds.' And here is the way he attempts to defend it: 'We may safely assume,' he argues, 'that the theory of evolution is the best working hypothesis in every branch of natural science. We are learning through Herbert Spencer and all late writers on ethics and politics that the same principle will best explain the facts.' He then goes on to argue that if the evolutionary hypothesis be admitted it must necessarily follow that, while the human embryo is from the first alive, it is not a human being until it has developed and differentiated to such a point as corresponds to that point at the birth of the race where the animal becomes a man" (p. 100).

The same hypothesis has been adopted to justify the practice of a known obstetrician (cited by an eminent physician), who declared that "he would as lief kill, if necessary, an unborn child as a rat" (p. 94). Fortunately for the moral interest of humanity this dictum does not represent the mind and practice of the nobler members of the medical profession; but that it should be publicly defended in an authoritative professional review, emphasizes the necessity of defending and propagating the teachings of sound ethical science. The ways in which the physician, true to his noble profession, may carry on his work of physical and moral beneficence for the individual and human society are

traced with a firm yet delicate hand in the fifth lecture on "Venereal Excesses."

The physician's natural rights and duties in matters regulated by civil and criminal legislation are set forth in the sixth lecture. The nature and the legal aspects of insanity form the subjects of the two succeeding lectures. The concluding lecture is devoted to the theories and applications of hypnotism, occasion being here taken to treat somewhat of spiritism and other allied phenomena on the "border-land of science."

From this general indication of the contents of the work our readers will discern that the matters treated demand a keen insight into the value of moral principles, a broad acquaintance with the facts and truths of physical sciences to which the principles apply, and a steady, tactful hand in the adjustment of the one to the other. It is but simple justice to say that, throughout, these qualities are reflected in the work. Fr. Coppens is well known to the English-reading world for his solid contributions to scholastic literature. In the present volume he has entered upon a new and hitherto almost untouched field. He has produced a work unique, solid and interesting—a work, above all, that was sorely needed. To this should be added a word of praise for the clear, vigorous English in which the lectures are wrought out, and the attractive material make-up of the book.

Though the work is addressed primarily to medical students and physicians, it will prove useful to professional men generally, but especially to the clergy, who, in their ministerial work in the Confessional, and particularly in the sick room, are so often called upon both by the doctor and the patient, as well as the family, to furnish information and advice on many of the difficult and delicate matters here treated.

In conclusion, just one little word of criticism. Speaking of the acts of a person under the influence of chloroform, the author says that the prayers or curses then unconsciously uttered "are no doubt the effects of acquired virtues or vices" (p. 21). The judgment in its latter half seems severe and liable in certain circumstances to lead to unjust inferences. It is well known that persons under the influence of narcotics may give utterance to expressions which they may have but casually heard and which they would be farthest from using in their normal state. Any antecedent sense-impression, even though but passively received, may in such a condition work itself out in speech, so that it would be as unscientific as unjust to attribute the expression to an acquired habit.

F. P. S.

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*THEOLOGIÆ MORALIS INSTITUTIONES* quas in Collegio Lovaniensi Societatis Jesu tradebat Eduardus Génicot ex eadem societate. Lovanii : typis et sumptibus Polleunis et Ceuterick. Two volumes in 8vo, 1609 pages. Price, 12 francs.

This compendium of moral theology is published as a text-book for seminaries. We have examined it to see what answers are given to such questions as have arisen during our own times, and the general character of the work. The learned author follows the beaten track of



almost all writers on moral theology, in his division of the subject-matter and enunciation of principles. His style is clear and forcible, and as a rule he meets most of the difficulties suggested by the question under discussion. In his solutions he invariably takes the milder view, insisting always on the fundamental law, *salus animarum suprema lex*. He has striven to bring his compendium fully up to the times. To mention only a few of the questions treated: On the obligations of voters; on Liberalism and how a confessor is to act with so-called liberals; on dancing; on cremation; Hypnotism; What constitutes just wages; Monopolies; Stock-speculation; de Ebrietas, whether it is ever lawful; Attendance at funerals of non-Catholics; Special cases de Matrimonio: Disparitas cultus and mixta religio, in which the non-Catholic party refuses to fulfil the conditions concerning the education of the children. We would have wished that here the author would have also treated the greater difficulty, viz., where the infidel party refuses to renew the consent. He answers this indirectly, p. 684, Vol. II., de Sanatione in radice.

These are a few of the questions we have examined, and show the thoroughly practical nature of the work. At the end of Vol. I. the author adds a decree of S. C. R., June 8, 1896, in which every bishop, whether diocesan or titular, is declared not only to have the right to offer Mass in his own private oratory or on a portable altar wheresoever he may stay, and to permit another to say Mass for his benefit; but also that the faithful who are present at such Mass fulfil the precept of the Church.

At the end of Vol. II. is a long supplement on prohibited books, showing exactly what is to be held at present on that much-mooted question.

The work is an excellent text-book for study or review.

The publishers have done their share of the work well. The paper is very good, the print large and clear.

I. F. H.

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DE RELIGIONE REVELATA LIBRI QUINQUE. Auctore G. Wilmer, S. J. Pp. iv., 686. Pustet: New York. 1897. Price, \$2.50.

PRÆLECTIONES DOGMATICÆ. Vol. v. Tract, I. de Gratia, II. de Lege Divina Positiva. Auctore Chr. Pesch, S. J. Pp. xi., 323. Herder: Freiburg and St. Louis, Mo. 1897. Price, \$1.90.

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGICÆ DE SACRAMENTIS. Auctore J. B. Sasse, S. J. Vol. I., pp. xv., 590. Herder. 1897. Price, \$2.90.

Three recent solid contributions to dogmatic theology, two just beginning whilst the other approaches conclusion, indicate the productiveness of the field and the incessant activity of the workers. Though written by different authors, the general unity of subject-matter justifies their being brought here together for review.

The first work deals with the nature and basis of religion and of general theology. Fr. Wilmer speaks with universally-admitted authority on this subject, as is testified by the high appreciation accorded to his

large work in German, of the same character though less scholastic in form—a work, by the way, that has passed into French, and is well known in English to students in our Catholic higher institutions through the solid compendium, “Wilmer’s Hand-Book of Religion.” When a theologian of the author’s power and experience, after passing the fourth score of his years, produces a work in his specialty, one may fairly expect to find therein singular largeness of view and thoroughness of treatment. But little reading of the work here at hand is required to verify this expectation. Fr. Wilmer has, of course, in mind the needs of ecclesiastical students who, having completed a curriculum of philosophy, are pursuing studies cognate to his own branch. Subjects, therefore, of a purely philosophical character, such as the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, the existence of natural law—subjects generally expounded in less didactic Apologies—are, therefore, here either omitted or but lightly touched upon. The same is true of matters purely historical and such as appertain to strictly Biblical science. The author’s teaching centres on five main points, answering to the same number of Books into which the volume is divided: (Book I.) religion and revelation in general—the necessity of religion—the possibility, necessity, etc., of revelation—the demonstration of revealed religion by the various criteria, external and internal; (Book II.) the pre-Christian revelations; the Christian revelation as demonstrated (Book III.) from the mission of Christ, (Book IV.) from its propagation, (Book V.) and from its continuation and life in the Church. On these lines the matter is wrought out very methodically and solidly and with considerable erudition, and, on the purely mechanical side, with that varied use of letter-press which adapts the book for its special service in the class hall. A fair conspectus and a good index add to the latter purpose, and give completeness to the present volume though the author promises two successive volumes for the near future, one on the Church and another on faith and its rules, to complete the work.

In the order of publication of Fr. Pesch’s prelections on “Dogmatics,” the fifth volume was postponed until after the appearance of the seventh. The gap is now filled up and the series brought within two steps of completion—the eighth and ninth volumes dealing with the Virtues, Sin, and the Consummation of things temporal. The subjects expounded in the volume now at hand are Grace—actual and habitual—and merit; also the divine positive Law of the Old and of the New Covenant.

In the impenetrable problem on the efficacy of Grace the author maintains the Congruism defended by Suarez. A difference between Congruism and Molinism has been thought to exist by some theologians, amongst others by Billuart; and the contention has been made that the Jesuit theologians had abandoned the latter and embraced the former opinion. Fr. Pesch shows that no such difference really existed and that the Society made no such change in its schools (p. 162).

As Fr. Pesch’s series of volumes nears its close, Fr. Sasse opens the

publication of the theological course he was wont to deliver for many years in the Jesuit institutions at Maria-Laach in Germany and at Ditton Hall in England. The course has been so arranged as to warrant the issuing of the various tracts irrespective of their logical position in the system of theology. Accordingly he has inaugurated his work with the theology of the Sacraments, and assigned to the present volume the Sacraments in general, Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist. Another volume will be required to complete the sacramental doctrine. The remainder of the course in separate volumes is promised, "*si Deus vitam et vires dederit.*"

The author has aimed throughout at a judicious combination of the positive or authoritative with the scholastic and more dialectical theology of his subjects. Consequently, the Scriptural, Patristic, Pontifical, Conciliar and other demonstrations are especially full and thorough, so that nothing has been left undone to impart to the student a clear apprehension of the *dogmata fidei*—the principles of theology as a science. At the same time, neque minus cordi mihi fuit, ut partes theologiæ scholasticæ, quæ *quæreit intellectum dogmatum*, sollicitè exsequeretur (p. 4). It is this harmonious union of the *intellectus quærens fidem* and the *fides quærens intellectum* that indicates the sound theological temper, and its embodiment here makes of this work a valuable aid to divinity studies.

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DE ACTIBUS HUMANIS, ONTOLOGICÆ ET PSYCHOLOGICÆ CONSIDERATIS SEU DISQUISITIONES PSYCHOLOGICÆ-THEOLOGICÆ DE VOLUNTATE IN ORDINE AD MORES. Auctore V. Frins, S.J. Herder: Freiburg and St. Louis, Mo. 1897. Pp. viii., 441. Price, \$2.10.

If every student and professor of ethics and moral theology would study and master the second part of St. Thomas's "*Summa Theologica*" and the expansion of its subjects presented by Suarez in the fourth volume of his "*Opera Omnia*," there would be hardly sufficient reason for producing works like the one here at hand. But since "the precise, profound and penetrating disquisitions of the old scholastic theologians on the ontology and psychology of human actions in their bearing on moral development, are not so much contained as buried in their massive folios," therefore writers like Fr. Frins find it desirable and even necessary to unearth the treasured wisdom of the past and present it *modo huic ætati magis accomodato*. True, the number of works, especially in Latin, dealing with human conduct is already not small. They are, however, for the most part compendia in scope and method, and do not, on the whole, enter very deeply and extensively into the subject. New problems in morality are constantly arising and the substructure and entire edifice of moral principles and laws are forever being assailed with varying methods, but with one intent—the breaking of the bonds and the casting off of the yoke. For these reasons summaries of fundamental morals are insufficient.

*Profundiore et ampliore rerum moralium tractatione etiam indigemus.* With this intent Fr. Frins has gone to the masters of moral science, St.



Thomas and Suarez, and here sets forth their wisdom with a generous hand. Three questions centering in the human act are discussed. The first on the end in its causal influence; the second on the voluntary character of conduct; the third on the actions in detail elicited and commanded by the will. These are of course very familiar subjects to every student of scholastic ethics. The author aims at neither novelty nor originality as to subject or method. Appreciative students, however, will find that he makes good his claims, viz., to unfold thoroughly and clearly the ultimate principles involved in the moral life of man.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MADAME GUYON, translated in full by *Thomas Taylor Allen*, Bengal Civil Service (retired), in two volumes. St. Louis: B. Herder. 1897. Price, \$5.25 net.

This is an odd book to appear in the catalogue of so representative a Catholic firm as Herder's; and it is difficult to understand how he was deceived into publishing it. The translator in his preface reveals himself as an aggressive Buddhist and Pantheist. Regarding the book itself, Mr. Herder had but to turn to his own great "*Lexicon*," vol. v., page 1402, to convince himself that it is not a genuine work of the gifted and unfortunate Madame Guyon, but a compilation made by Protestants after her death. We have deemed it our duty to draw public attention to this, lest the book fall into unwary hands and cause mischief. There are hundreds of valuable works in foreign tongues clamoring for translation into our language, and the fact that so inferior a book as the one before us has received an unmerited honor should set us seriously reflecting on our culpable negligence.

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THE JESUIT RELATIONS AND ALLIED DOCUMENTS. Edited by *Reuben Gold Thwaites*, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Vol. IX. (Quebec, 1636.) Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company.

The ninth volume of this great collection contains the concluding portion of Father Paul Le Jeune's "*Relation*" for the year 1636. The narrative, though "jotted down hastily, now in one place, now in another; sometimes upon the water, sometimes upon the land," as the good missionary tells us, is extremely graphic and at times thrilling. Intermingled with the account of his labors and travels are many accurate observations of supreme importance regarding the habits and superstitions of the natives, the climate of Canada, and the proper method of colonizing the province. Our readers will thank us for the following touching description of the death and burial of Champlain:

"On the twenty-fifth of December, the day of the birth of our Saviour upon earth, Monsieur de Champlain, our Governor, was reborn in heaven; at least, we can say that his death was full of blessings. I am sure that God has shown him this favor in consideration of the benefits he has procured for New France, where we hope some day God will be loved and served by our French, and known and adored by our Savages. Truly, he had led a life of great justice, equity and perfect loyalty to



his King and towards the Gentlemen of the Company. But at his death he crowned his virtues with sentiments of piety so lofty that he astonished us all. What tears he shed! How ardent became his zeal for the service of God! How great was his love for the families here!—saying that they must be vigorously assisted for the good of the country, and made comfortable in every possible way in these early stages, and that he would do it if God gave him health. He was not taken unawares in the account which he had to render to God, for he had long ago prepared a general confession of his whole life, which he made with great contrition to Father Lalemant, whom he honored with his friendship. The Father comforted him throughout his sickness, which lasted two months and a half, and did not leave him until his death. He had a very honorable burial, the funeral procession being formed of the people, the soldiers, the captains, and the churchmen. Father Lalemant officiated at this burial, and I was charged with the funeral oration, for which I did not lack material. Those whom he left behind have reason to be well satisfied with him; for, although he died out of France, his name will not therefore be any less glorious to posterity.”

For the next volume we are promised Father Brebeuf's report of the Huron mission. Thus the interest in this great work deepens as we proceed.

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#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. By *F. Goulburn Walpole*. New York: Benziger Brothers. London: Burns & Oates.
- CARMEL IN IRELAND. By *Father Patrick*, of St. Joseph, O.D.C. \$1.35. New York: Benziger Brothers. London: Burns & Oates.
- ALICE O'CONNOR'S SURRENDER. By *Mary E. Casey*. Boston: Angel Guardian Press.
- THE EUCHARISTIC CHRIST. Reflections and Considerations in the Blessed Sacrament. By *Rev. A. Tisnère*. Translated by Mrs. Anne R. Bennet-Gladstone. With a Preface by Rev. D. J. McMahon, D.D. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- THE WONDER-WORKER OF PADUA. By *Charles Warren Stoddard*. 50 cents. Notre Dame, Indiana: The Ave Maria Press.
- ILLUSTRATED EXPLANATION OF THE PRAYERS AND CEREMONIES OF THE MASS. By *Rev. D. I. Lanslots, O.S.B.* New York: Benziger Brothers.
- THE COMMANDMENTS EXPLAINED. By *Rev. Arthur Devine*, Passionist. New York: Benziger Brothers. London: R. Washbourne.
- TRUE POLITENESS. By *Abbé Francis Demore*. From the French, by a Visitandine of Baltimore. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- ILLUSTRATED LIFE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN. By *Rev. B. Rohner, O.S.B.* Adapted by Rev. Richard Brennan, LL.D. \$1.25. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- LIFE OF ST. ALOYSIUS GONZAGA. By *Rev. J. F. X. O'Connor*. 75 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- OUR OWN WILL. By *Rev. J. Allen, D.D.* With a Preface by Right Rev. J. D. Ricards, D.D. Fourth Edition. 75 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers.



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